FBIS DAILY REPORT
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CEMA COMMISSION MEETING VIEWS POLISH ECONOMY

LD010120 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 31 Jan 82

[Text] Havana, 31 Jan (PAP) -- A communique on the 27th meeting of the CEMA Commission for Cooperation in Planning, held here between January 26 and 29, 1982, was published here on January 30. Representatives of the 10 CEMA-member countries, including the Polish delegation led by Vice-Premier and head of the Government Planning Commission Zbigniew Madej, took part in the debates.

The communique paid a lot of attention to Poland's questions. The debaters examined concrete Polish proposals on how to make use of idle capacities of the Polish industry, with the CEMA countries supplying basic intermediate, raw materials and parts. Participants in the meeting also took account of the question of participation of these countries in resuming the construction of these projects in Poland whose execution was stopped.

In keeping with the declaration of the CEMA Executive Committee, the debaters also stressed the cooperation in the problems mentioned above will clearly reflect multilateral assistance of the CEMA countries to help Poland overcome economic difficulties and to create conditions favourable for continuing socialist development of People's Poland, and also to strengthen the unity of countries of the socialist community. The document emphasizes that it is especially important in the light of the policy pursued by the U.S. administration and the governments of some NATO countries vis-a-vis the CEMA countries, and especially in view of the intention to interfere in Poland's internal affairs and to take [word indistinct] measures against Poland and the USSR.

UN DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE DEBATE ON POLAND NOTED

LD031656 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] In Geneva, debate of the UN disarmament committee of 40 states continues. During the debate delegates of some Western states made an attempt to present the current internal situation in Poland as a factor which could make disarmament negotiations more difficult. Using the right of reply Ambassador Bogumil Sojka, the chairman of the Polish delegation, sharply protested these attempts, treating them as interference in Poland's internal affairs which cannot be reconciled with the spirit and the letter of the UN Charter, with the Helsinki Final Act, and basic standards of international relations.

FURTHER REPORT ON POLISH MBFR DELEGATE'S SPEECH

AU031425 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Jan 82 p 4

[PAP report: "Start of 26th Round of Vienna Talks: Speech by Polish Representative"]

[Text] PAP correspondent Franciszek Malinowski writes: After a Christmas and New Year break of almost 2 months, the 26th round of talks started in Vienna on 28 January on the subject of forces and armament reduction in central Europe. Delegations from seven socialist countries and 12 NATO countries are taking part in these talks, which are already in their 9th year.

Ambassador Stanislaw Przygodzki, head of the Polish delegation, and Leon Doyen, acting chairman of the Belgian delegation, spoke during Thursday's plenary meeting.

Ambassador Przygodzki said that 3 days ago Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier of the Polish Government, had emphasized during his Sejm speech that Poland's fate depends on peace and that our country is inseparably connected with the policy of peace and detente.

Ambassador Przygodzki then said that Poland has promised to guarantee itself and other countries peace, and places great importance on finding practical ways of halting the arms race, which constitutes an ever-increasing threat to the security and well-being of all mankind.

It was and is the Polish Government's deep conviction that one of the ways of halting the arms race in the particularly sensitive central European arena is by fulfilling the mandate that was agreed almost 9 years ago during the preparatory talks for the Vienna negotiations.

Ambassador Przygodzki devoted his speech mainly to problems connected with the existing deadlock in the Vienna talks. The initiative taken by socialist countries to reduce the very high degree of military concentration in central Europe, and even such unilateral measures as the withdrawal of 20,000 Soviet troops from East Germany, had not been reciprocated, Ambassador Przygodzki said. What is more, a considerable increase in NATO strength had occurred.

Ambassador Przygodzki said that the main reason for the lasting lack of progress in the Vienna talks is the unconstructive stance of Western participants and their reluctance to give positive replies to important proposals by socialist countries to reach a compromise, as well as attempts by the West to omit from the first agreement such basic issues as arms reduction and a union between both stages of reduction.

We believe, Ambassador Przygodzki said, that putting in writing the issues on which both sides are close and including them in a joint document would give the talks impetus and make them all the more profitable. Such a document, he said, could be the draft for an agreement, or, if the Western delegations are not ready to reach an agreement, the document could later be the basis for such a draft.

Such a method of seeking satisfactory solutions has proved to be very useful and effective during many international conferences, also those on the subject of disarmament problems. In connection with this, Ambassador Przygodzki said, we do not understand what the West means when it says that the preparation of a draft for the first agreement cannot start until there is clear progress in the presentation of numerical data and auxiliary resources.

Ambassador Przygodzki stressed at the same time the socialist countries' readiness to seriously consider any other suggestion which conforms to the principle of equal security on both sides.

He gave an account of his speech during the press conference led by the spokesman of the Polish delegation, Janusz Rychlak. Replying to journalists' questions, Przygodzki gave the main points of his response to the Belgian representative's speech during Thursday's talks.

In this speech, the Belgian representative had quoted fragments of the NATO Council's declaration on the events in Poland. Ambassador Przygodzki expressed deep regret and indignation over the fact that in this way the Belgian representative had endorsed open meddling in the internal affairs of our country, which of course have nothing to do with the subject of the Vienna talks. It is obvious, he stressed, that statements of this kind by the West can only harm the talks underway.

The introduction of martial law in Poland was a completely free decision in accordance with the Polish Constitution. It was made by the Polish authorities in the interest of our nation and also in the interest of security, peace and stability in Europe. Przygodzki said further that the events in Poland are purely our country's domestic business and cannot form a subject for discussion at the Vienna talks.

He added that it is not the events in Poland but the kind of speeches made by the Belgian representative that form a part of the unprecedented NATO campaign of pressure and blackmail against Poland, lead to a further deterioration in the international climate and put the brakes on efforts intended to achieve progress in disarmament.

Ambassador Przygodzki expressed hope that the Western delegations will refrain in future from further attempts to raise issues during the talks which not only have nothing to do with their mandate, but also make it difficult to conduct a proper discussion on issues which form the subject of the talks.

He informed the delegates that Ambassador Walerian Michajlow, the Soviet representative, had made a similar response.

Next, Harlan Moen, spokesman for the Western countries, met journalists and told them about the speech by the Belgian representative, who besides discussing the Polish issue concentrated on repeating arguments which have been known for years concerning numerical data and auxiliary resources.

The next meeting of the 19 delegations has been set for next Thursday, 4 February.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSES 1981-82 PLAN

'Successful Start'

AU031427 Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 3 Feb (BTA) -- An expanded session of the Ministerial Council was held here yesterday in which the results of the implementation of the socio-economic development plan of Bulgaria in 1981 were discussed and measures were outlined for the fulfillment of the tasks in 1982.

The fulfillment of the plan for the first year of the eighth five-year period is a successful start in carrying through the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. New successes have been achieved in the further development of the economy, in increasing the economic and techno-scientific potential of the country. The chief socio-economic task of the eight five-year period -- of meeting increasingly fuller the material and spiritual requirements of the peoples -- is implemented successfully.

The shortcomings and faults made by some organizations and enterprises were analyzed at the session, too. Emphasized was the necessity of using more effectively the advantages of the economic approach and the new economic mechanism. Underlined was the importance of the effective use of fuels, energy, raw and other materials and of the production capacities.

The government entrusted the respective organizations with undertaking some concrete measures to improve the work in the field of construction with a view of ensuring the planned reduction of the volume of incompleted construction. Special attention was paid to securing a still better stocked home market in 1982.

The Ministerial Council expressed confidence that all departments and enterprises will mobilize their efforts on the basis of the economic approach and the new economic mechanism for the overfulfillment of the tasks set for 1982.

1981 Plan Fulfillment

AU031440 Sofia BTA in English 1315 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 3 Feb (BTA) -- According to preliminary estimates, in 1981 Bulgaria's national income reached 22 milliard leva (in current prices), with 75 percent of it chanelled out to the consumption fund. At the end of last year Bulgarian national economy had at its disposal capital assets to the tune of 82.7 milliard leva.

In 1981 national economy continued to develop at steady rates. (?New and active) changes in its material and technological base took place, in the standard of living of the people, is pointed out in the announcement of the Committee for the Unified System of Social Information given for publication here. The announcement presents the results of the implementation of the last year's plan. The line on further intensification of the economy, on consistent application of the economic approach and its mechanism has been carried through successfully.

The overfulfillment of the plans for public labour efficiency and profit comes directly from the operation of the new economic approach. The extra plan profit for the year amounted to 470 million leva.

Techno-scientific progress was an important factor for the intensive economic development in 1981. Some 1,407 new and improved technologies, 1,230 new and improved products and 551 designs of automated systems have been industrially transferred.

Industry remains the most dynamic economic branch. A comparison with 1980 shows a growth of the total industrial output by 5.6 percent.

Generation of electric and thermal energy has increased by 6.8 percent. The output of the ferrous metallurgy went up by 6.4 percent, of the mechanical engineering and metal-processing industry by 6.6 percent, of electronics and electrical engineering by more than 10 percent, of chemical and [words indistinct] by over 11 percent.

Along with this, the announcement lists down several industries in which the output is below the planned production quotas. These are the outputs of iron for processing, of rolled ferrous metals, of block steel, of construction alloy steel, of some machines and electric instruments, of polyvinylchloride and some products of the wood-processing industry.

A total of 225 mechanized and automated conveyor lines have been industrially transferred during last year. Complete mechanization and automation has been introduced at 150 industrial sites, workshops and productions. A considerable improvement of the effectivity of industrial production is reported, cooroborated by the realized extra plan profits to the tune of 380 million leva.

The agrarian branch has also increased its production (by 4 percent) as compared with 1980. On the same grounds of comparison the production of grain has increased by 11.4 percent, of sunflower seed by 17.9 percent, of oriental tobacco by 7.8 percent, of vegetables by 5.9 percent and of fruits by 11.3 percent. It is noted in the announcement that, irrespective of the increased production, the production quotas for some farm crops have not been fulfilled, chiefly due to smaller acreage sown under them, lower average yields for some areas and droughts. Production increases are reported in livestock breeding, too, although emphasis is laid on some untapped possibilities. Reported are also certain shortcomings of organisational character during harvest time, in use of machines and purchasing of products.

Last year special attention was paid to agro-industrial integration, specialization in agriculture and introduction of industrial methods in livestock breeding. Positive are the results from the implementation of the self-sufficiency programme of the settlement systems in some kinds of farm products.

The announcement reports further the results of investment and construction in the country. Last year capital funds to the tune of 5.9 milliard leva were put in operation, or with 9.8 percent more than in 1980. Pointing out that some economic investment organizations have not put in operation all the production capacities, the announcement stresses the necessity of overcoming certain shortcomings in providing the construction sites with workforce, materials and machines, of reducing the volume of incompleted construction.

The tasks set in transport and communication have been overfulfilled.

Last year again the steady development of national economy determined Bulgaria's active participation in the international division of labour. Her foreign trade exchange marked a 15 percent increase over the 1980 index. The establishment of the positive changes in the structure of exports continued with an increasing share going to machinery and installations. The trend of improving the payment balance of the country has also been maintained.

Another particularly important result of the economic growth is the steady raising of the living standards of the people. Last year's real income per capita marked over 3 percent increase. The average monthly payment of workers and employees exceeded 190 leva Better were met the necessities of the citizens in various kinds of goods. The network of health care and children's establishments was expanded. In 1981 the builders completed 70,000 new flats, but the figure is below the planned number. The main tasks in education and culture were fulfilled. At the end of 1981 Bulgaria's population reached 8,903,000.

In 1981 over 314 million leva (?were spent) on environment conservation. Many purifying installations have been built, wasteless technologies have been introduced. Extra industrial production was manufactured from the waste products.

LILOV SPEAKS AT CULTURE COMMITTEE PLENUM 1 FEB

AU031326 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Feb 82 p 2

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary at 1 February plenum of the Committee on Culture in Sofia]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades, it has already been half a year since we lost the dear, unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova, hitherto chairman of the Committee on Culture.

The issue that the Committee on Culture's plenum has to deal with today is the formation of a new leadership of the committee, which, despite the heavy burden of Lyudmila Zhivkova's death, has to continue the process of Bulgaria's cultural development along the same road we followed up to now -- the road of building the culture and civilization of a developed socialist society.

What will our cultural policy be now that Lyudmila Zhivkova is not with us anymore, and will there be any changes or turns in this policy?

The answer of the party is clear and firm: No, the cultural policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria does not require and will not undergo any substantial changes. We shall continue to steadily conduct the April cultural policy which has been conducted up to now and which has been tested by life.

This policy has been conducted in our country up to now, and it has yielded significant results, especially during the decade of the seventies. These results have met great recognition in our country and far beyond our borders. The seventies were a period of achievements of lasting and steady character in our socialist cultural development. Many things can happen, but there will be no turning away from these lasting achievements. This cannot happen in social practice, let alone in the awareness of all talented and honest members of our artistic and creative intelligentsia.

Of course, our cultural development and cultural activity do not take place without any problems, weaknesses and difficulties. Not at all, such an evaluation such an opinion would not only be wrong, but also not a serious one.

Some serious difficulties are to be removed.

We are to solve some urgent tasks or complete the solution of others and thus secure the further accelerated cultural development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and ever better satisfy the people's cultural needs.

Only naive or unscrupulous people would close their eyes to the existing weaknesses, difficulties and problems and would replace the April style of dissatisfaction, strictness and criticism with semi-intelligent philistine self-satisfaction and narcissist self-adulation. Our party is not such a party. We have and must have an awareness of what we have achieved, but cannot afford complacency and lack of criticism, because, as everywhere else, and especially in the arts, this means stagnation and decay.

It is not a secret that there are people who, despite the fact that they noisily declare their adherence to party policy, in fact ignore it. It is necessary to be absolutely clear in these matters because in each policy, including cultural, reality and not rhetoric, regardless of now noisy, is the most important thing. We must clearly say to these comrades that declarations about the April line cannot replace the application of this line.

We cannot remain indifferent and passive toward the philosophical or aesthetic amorphousness and insufficient ideological combat ability of individual works or deeds.

One notices a certain ideological sloppiness, negligence and, sometimes, irresponsibility on the part of some comrades. There have been some cases in which the ideological aspects of some cultural events or creative works have been underestimated, and a certain benignity has been shown toward ideological neutrality and toward the danger of the penetration of foreign ideological-aesthetic influences and the lowering of the ideological criteria and ideological strictness.

Although seldom, one can still encounter works which contradict the aesthetic foundations and principles of our socialist art, both in the direction of some recently imported fashionable passions as well as in the direction of the lazy impotence of some obsolete biases, which have already been eliminated in the past.

In some cases in our scientific and public literature one can still notice serious deviations from the principles of dialectical and historical materialism.

There is yet another, although small, group of literary and nonliterary publications characterized not by theoretical or political-ideological mistakes, but by empty words, lack of content and a pseudoscientific character. These works not only lower the level of theoretical and public thought, but also do not correspond to any public, scientific or cultural needs except their authors' opportunistic, egocentric and financial interests.

There is yet another great danger -- the danger of reviving dogmatism and schematism, sectarian narrowmindedness and primitivism, which is expressed by announcing as "foreign" or at least "suspicious" everything which does not fit in with one's notions or schemes, and by the attempts to revive old accusations, evoke new polarizations and slander some of the most significant figures in our artistic and cultural development. One must not underestimate this danger, not only because the time when it inflicted serious damage to our culture is not far back and not only because dogmatism never emerges as dogmatism, but always as something dressed in official clothes and holding our holy flag and principles. One must not underestimate this danger mainly because the road of dogmatic routine, sectarianism and schematism is also the road of stagnation, suspicion, lack of confidence and unprincipled quarrelling, the road of impoverishing and hindering our culture.

We categorically and finally reject this road. We cannot reach the goals of socialist culture along this road. We cannot successfully struggle from dogmatic positions against the deviations from the Marxist-Leninist principles and criteria in the cultural activity. The attempts to push us in this direction are doomed regardless of their source. The leadership of our culture has forever parted with dogmatism and perversions.

The dogmatists do not understand and consequently attack the democratization of cultural life and its leadership -- the most important change introduced by the April cultural policy. What is our response to this? There are infatuations and weaknesses, of course, but we shall criticize and remove them. However, we shall never return to a limited impoverished and bureaucratic nation in its cultural process and its leadership.

It is exceptionally important now to use imagination, depth and farsightedness to implement the comprehensive and constant cooperation and coming together with the great Soviet culture and arts and to expand the intensive cooperation and relations with the cultures of the socialist countries. We are an integral part of the world socialist culture and its builders as well. This determines the main orientation and concern of our foreign cultural policy and activity.

Simultaneously, we must strengthen and maintain the mutual contacts, exchange and cooperation with the cultures of the other countries of the world in accordance with the Helsinki Conference Final Act. In this area too we have no intention or reason to go back. In this area too we shall expand our achievements and march forward.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is not a closed cultural society. We value and are not hostile to the progressive cultural heritage or culture of any country. We aim to actively participate in the world cultural process and actively associate with the best creators and creations, and not sink into isolation and cultural loneliness.

Comrades, on the basis of the aforementioned considerations, the BCP Central Committee Politburo proposes that the plenum of the Committee on Culture form such a leadership which will be capable of further conducting the Lenininst April policy in the areas of arts and culture.

The Politburo proposes to discuss the candidacy of Comrade Georgi Yordanov, candidate-member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, for chairman of the Committee on Culture.

You know Comrade Georgi Yordanov well, his biography, development, very close and successful work with Lyudmila Zhivkova, the former chairman of the Committee on Culture, his valuable business qualities and his active participation in the country's cultural life. I do not think it is necessary to present him to you. The Politburo is confident that he will successfully and worthily fulfill the new and responsible mission with which he has been entrusted. Naturally he will also remain deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, something which will obviously not be to the detriment of the Committee on Culture.

The Politburo is confident that our cultural front will make new and big steps forward in its development, in the construction of the developed socialist society and in implementing the party program and the decisions of the 12th party congress.

Our correct cultural policy is a guarantee of this. Our talented and united creative intelligentsia is a guarantee of this. And you -- the leaders of our cultural front -- are the guarantors of this.

Thank you for your attention.

TRADE PROTOCOL FOR 1982 SIGNED WITH POLAND

AU031630 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] A protocol on echange of goods for 1982 between the Ministries of Internal Trade and Services of Bulgaria and Poland was signed in Sofia a short while ago. It provides for mutual exchange between the two ministries amounting to R21 million. The protocol was signed by Lalyu Ivanov, deputy minister of internal trade and services, and by his Polish counterpart (Hendryk Skordicz). Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and services, attended the signing ceremony.

GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION DEPARTS 3 FEB

AU031547 Sofia BTA in English 1516 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 3 Feb (BTA) -- The Greek Communist Party delegation led by Mr Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party, visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, left the country today. The Greek delegation included also Mr Nikos Kaloudis, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party.

At Sofia Airport the guests were seen off by Mr Aleksandur Lilov and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, by high-ranking officials of the Central Committee of the party.

MACEDONIAN DELEGATION VISITS BLAGOEVGRAD

AU221309 Sofia BTA in English 0900 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Blagoevgrad, 22 Jan (BTA) -- A delegation from the city of Skopje, Socialist Republic of Macedonia, led by Mr Metodi Antov, chairman of the city's assembly, was on a three-day visit to the city of Blagoevgrad.

The guests were made familiar with some historical sights and monuments of culture, visited industrial plants, educational and children's establishments in the county centre. The delegation laid a wreath at the monument of the founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party and patron of the city, Dimitur Blagoev (the grandfather) and had meetings at the county committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

A protocol for cooperation in the political, economic, the cultural and sporting spheres was signed by Blagoevgrad and Skopje for the 1982-1983 period.

DPRK YOUTH DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR VISIT

AU031942 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Sofia, 3 Feb (BTA) -- A delegation of the Central Committee of the Union of the Korean Socialist Working Youth (Korean People's Democratic Republic) arrived on an official visit here today. The delegation is headed by Mr Je Yong-su, chairman of the CC of the organization.

Today the young people of the Korean People's Democratic Republic had a meeting with Mrs Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League. Information was exchanged on the two organizations' activity and tasks.

BRIEFS

RADIO-TV PROTOCOL WITH USSR -- A 1982-83 working cooperation protocol between Bulgarian and Soviet radio and television was signed in Sofia today. The protocol was signed by Bulgarian television director general Ivan Slavkov, Bulgarian radio deputy director Ilcho Buchvarov and Genadiy Sorokin, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The protocol is a concrete program for further interaction between the two institutes of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Jan 82 AU]

SOVIET NATURAL GAS -- Sofia, 29 Jan (BTA) -- Bulgaria receives 14 million cubic meters of natural gas from the Soviet Union every 24 hours. This has become possible, thanks to the efforts of the working team of the "Gazstroimontazh" assembly bureau. Today the "Gazstroimontazh" bureau celebrated its 10th anniversary. In 1969 an intergovernment agreement on delivery of natural gas from the Soviet Union to Bulgaria was signed. The pipelines linking the two countries have extended to more than 1200 kilometers now. On August 6, 1974 Soviet natural gas was received for the first time by Bulgaria by the northern semi-circle of the "USSR-Bulgaria" gas pipeline. Since the time the gas pipeline started its work Bulgaria has received over 21 milliard cubic meters of natural gas. If not for the pipeline, a 20-ton tank with oil should have crossed the Bulgarian frontier every minute. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 29 Jan 82 AU]

DAILIES EVALUATE 'DRUZHBA-82' MANEUVERS

AU031234 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 February carries on page 2 in the column "We Comment" a 1,050-word commentary by Jiri Hecko, entitled "For Peace, Work and Life." After noting the recent new Soviet disarmament and detente initiatives, "welcomed, regardless of citizenship or political stand, by everyone who has life and work in peace at heart," Hecko points out the "continuing unconcealed orientation" of Western armies toward "new aggressive campaigns," proved by "most exercises of the armies of the Western aggressive NATO pact, which are held or which end in the vicinity of the borders of socialist countries, lying on the point of contact between two class-divided worlds. The American Reagan government is showing its unyielding will to continue the 'holy' anticommunist campaign by producing new kinds of mass destruction weapons, by horrendously escalating armament and by attempting to turn Europe into the stage for a 'limited' nuclear war. In the face of these facts," Hecko continues, "the socialist countries, as the congresses of their communist and workers parties again decided, are forced to consistently ensure their reliable defense. And it is exactly due to the creation of the defense community of the Warsaw Pact and to the constant intensification of the all-round cooperation of all its member countries that the international character and strength of this peace union grows."

Hecko then points out the significance of field exercises and states: "The allied exercise of our own, Soviet and Hungarian soldiers, called 'Friendship-82,' which was held last week on our territory, is this kind of maturity test. The very name of the exercise, which is not new, aptly expresses the ideas of socialist internationalism, which are lastingly valid for building socialism and its defense. And the course of the exercise itself has yielded innumerable examples of the realization of these ideas in practice.

"It is no secret that the soldiers of our fraternal armies are training to fulfill similar tasks, frequently with the same weapons and combat technology, as well as under similar conditions.

"The allied exercise therefore makes it possible to compare the results of this comprehensive preparation. In fulfilling the joint tasks, in the close collaboration of formations and units of the fraternal armies, the soldiers got to know each other better; together they were overcoming the bad winter weather and the difficulties of military life; and their mutual trust, respect and friendship have strengthened." After noting that the awareness has grown that "in the members of fraternal socialist armies we have reliable allies, on whose loyalty and assistance it is possible to rely in the most complicated situation," Hecko states that "the tasks of the allied exercise have been successfully fulfilled. For our own and for the Hungarian commanders and soldiers, the exercise has become a valuable source of knowledge and experience stemming from the all-round preparation and education of the members of the fraternal Soviet army," Hecko points out and then praises the task fulfillment by the CSSR Army members, which was also lauded by G. Husak and Marshal Kulikov.

Hecko concludes by saying: "Our fraternal countries are threatening nobody in the military sense -- after all, this is in keeping with their entire history; nor are they planning any aggressive campaigns. But this does not mean that their people, under the leadership of their communist parties, are not prepared to rise with the utmost determination for the defense of their socialist achievements.

"This is the only goal aimed at, and also achieved, by the winter allied exercise 'Friendship-82,' which ended a few days ago."

On the same day Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak carries on page 2 in the column "We Comment," a 1,000-word commentary by Lt Col Vladimir Vladar entitled 'Friendship-82.' Vladar begins by stating that "the complicated international situation, the increasingly impudent threats and appeals, deplorably resounding even from the mouths of top state representatives in the West, are forcing the socialist countries to consolidate the combat strength and preparedness of their armies for ensuring peaceful construction work and the peaceful life of their citizens and for deflecting any and all aggressors. The common exercises have become an important element in perfecting the collaboration of formations and groups of units in the individual armies in the various phases of combat activities between all kinds of troops."

After noting the difficult conditions and the tasks of the exercise, Vladar then underscores the role of party organizations in activating and mobilizing the soldiers and commanders and notes the successful results achieved, adding: "A similar situation also existed in the units of the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army. There, too, the communists and youth union members showed a high degree of preparedness, devotion and initiative."

Vladar then stresses "another significant feature of the exercise: It has become a manifestation of alliance and friendship also in the sphere of military culture, sports and hobby activities" and it "consolidated the ties between army members and our working people," as well as "the ties between party bodies and military formations."

Vladar states that President Husak's visit to the troops "expressed the deep concern of our Communist Party for the armed forces and their preparedness," and was rewarded by the troops increased efforts, "which confirmed that the close ties of our Communist Party with the working people, with the members of the armed forces, creates the most realistic prerequisite for overcoming even the greatest difficulties and for achieving the set goals." Then Vladar stresses that the exercise has again confirmed that "the armed forces of the fraternal socialist countries have at their disposal modern combat technology, which is capable, in the hands of perfectly prepared soldiers, of successfully going into action in any threatened place."

Recalling the CPCZ's warning at its 16th congress that "to continue consolidating the defense ability of our country is unavoidable," Vladar points out that "the 'Friendship-82' exercise has proved that the Czechoslovak soldiers are adhering to the party directive. This was also proved by the Soviet army soldiers, who made quite a few suggestions during the exercise. And even under the complicated conditions of ice, the soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army fulfilled their tasks in their entirety and deepened their skill in collaboration with our own and the Soviet soldiers," Vladar states.

He concludes: "The complicated and exacting winter exercise of the units of the three friendly armies on our territory has fulfilled its tasks. It has confirmed that commanders and staffs are capable of fulfilling, under difficult conditions, their combat tasks both independently and in cooperation with other units. The defense ability and mutual collaboration of staffs and commanders was further consolidated; new friendships were established, many of which usually last for years. Our friendship, the deep moral unity were consolidated, as was the determination to do everything for ensuring the calm, peaceful construction of our countries. The exercise has confirmed that the path on which the communist and workers parties are leading us is correct."

JAKES RETURNS FROM GDR 3 FEB; MET BY HAVLIN

LD032216 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committe, who was visiting the GDR at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, returned from Berlin today. At the airport he was welcomed by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

HUSAK RECEIVES NEW COLOMBIAN, ZAMBIAN ENVOYS

LD031428 Prague CTK in English 1200 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 3 Feb (CTK) -- Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here Wednesday new Colombian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia David Aljur Ramirez. They agreed that the development of relations between the two countries is useful for both sides and that no obstacles prevent their further broadening in the spheres of common interest, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

New Zambian Ambassador Joshua Simasiku Siyolwe presented his credentials to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak here Wednesday. During their meeting, the development of cooperation between the two countries, enhanced also by the visit of the Zambian president to Czechoslovakia in 1980, was evaluated with satisfaction. The two officials expressed the conviction that necessary preconditions for the further intensification of Czechoslovak-Zambian contacts exist, as it accords with the level of mutual friendly relations and the strengthening of international cooperation in the interest of world peace.

CZECH STATISTICAL OFFICE ISSUES 1981 REPORT

LD022232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Feb 82

[Text] The Czech Statistical Office has issued a report on the development and fulfillment of the National Economic Plan in the Czech Socialist Republic last year. The report notes that the main targets of last year's plan aimed at higher efficiency and quality of all work, at the further intensification of our economy and at reinforcing its external balance. Despite more complicated economic conditions industrial production continued to rise. Labor productivity increased and the fuel, energy and material requirements of production were slightly curtailed. But the targets of the state plan were not fulfilled in a satisfactory manner in certain sectors. The structure of industrial production adapted only slowly to the requirements of the foreign and domestic markets. The scope of the innovation of products and the application of the findings of scientific and technical progress were inadequate.

The report of the Czech Statistical Office then lists the results of individual branches of the economy in the Czech Socialist Republic.

INCENTIVES FOR ENTERPRISE FUEL SAVINGS DISCUSSED

AU292000 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 January on page 3, in its column "Experience, Proposals, Polemics, Criticism," carries several contributions by enterprise representatives -- totalling 3,300 words -- dealing with fuel savings, specifically with material incentives to save fuels.

Eduard Melus, director of the Trnava ground construction enterprise in charge of transportation, refers in his letter to differences in bonuses paid by enterprises for fuel savings, saying that while drivers in construction enterprises receive Kcs1.50 for every saved liter of diesel oil, drivers of the Czechoslovak automobile transportation enterprise receive Kcs2.60. He notes that "this does not affect the drivers in a wholesome manner and does not correctly influence their interest in savings." He advocates a uniform bonus system. He concedes, however, that a standardized system would require "equal conditions," which do not yet exist. As an example, Melus applies the method for computing fuel savings used in a recent PRAVDA article to his own enterprise and concludes that, applying the same method, his enterprise would have achieved only "fictitious savings," but, nevertheless, would have to "reach deep into its pocket" to pay the drivers their bonuses. That is why, in his view, "first it is necessary to find a method of measuring and recording actual savings" and only then it is possible to introduce a uniform bonus system.

Jan Novak, driver of the Bucina Zvolen enterprise, responds with his letter to previous PRAVDA articles dealing with fuel savings, saying that he was surprised to read that drivers in other enterprises receive up to Kcs2.60 for every saved liter of diesel oil. According to Novak, neither he nor the other drivers in his enterprise are materially interested in fuel savings, "apart from the fact that our premiums would be cut if we exceeded the set consumption limits." Novak points out that in December alone he saved 45 liters of diesel oil and calls it an "injustice" that he did not receive "even a koruna."

Eng Demian Macak, director of the district agricultural administration in Galanta, mentions in his letter that in 1982 the consumption limits set for the agricultural enterprises of the district will be substantially lower than in 1980 -- the reduction in diesel oil is 26 percent, in light heating oils 20 percent, and in natural gas 16 percent. He also reports on the measures being taken in the district to come to terms with the situation and notes in this context the need to "speedily reassess some decrees and regulations, for example those that prohibit the use of high-performance tractors with two trailer implements." He points out that this fuel-conserving use of tractors is "customary" in some other socialist states.

Stefan Spodniak, secretary of the CPSL district committee in Zvolen, advocates in his letter in uniform system of material incentives to save fuel. He criticizes the fact that currently the material interest in diesel oil savings ranges between 10 and 75 percent of the fuel value and notes that negative impact of such differences on fuel savings.

In the other related letters published by PRAVDA, enterprise representatives report on their efforts to save fuels and on the ways in which they involve their drivers in those efforts.

In the same column a week later, on 27 January on page 4, Bratislava PRAVDA continues its discussion on fuel savings. Most contributions criticize again the existing differences in material incentive regulations and consumption limits and stress the need to introduce a uniform bonus system. Only Jozef Pieruzek, head of the road transportation department at the West Slovak regional national committee, claims in his letter that "for objective reasons, the remuneration cannot be uniform" and points to the diverse economic conditions in individual transport organizations. He defends, therefore, the existing material incentive regulations.

BRIEFS

SRI LANKA AMBASSADOR DEPARTS -- Rajakone Christopher A. Johnpulle, ambassador of Sri Lanka to the CSSR residing in Moscow, departed from the CSSR after concluding his mission. He was seen off by Jindrich Tucek, head of diplomatic protocol in the CSSR's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 82 p 2 AU]

NEW COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR -- David Aljure Ramirez, new ambassador of the Republic of Colombia to the CSSR, arrived on 22 January in Prague and was welcomed at the Ruzyne Airport by Jindrich Tucek, head of diplomatic protocol in the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 82 p 2 AU]

CUBAN-CSSR JOURNALISTS' COOPERATION -- Zdenek Horeni, chairman of the CSSR's Journalists' Union, and Ernesto Vera, secretary general of the Cuban Journalists' Union, signed on 22 January in Prague an agreement on the cooperation of the two unions for the next 5 years. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jan 82 p 2 AU]

FLOOD DAMAGES -- In 1981, the damages caused by floods to the agricultural crops amounted to Kcs2 billion in Bohemia alone. In 1979 and 1980, 25 percent of the entire meat production was achieved with imported grain. As part of rectifying measures, the agriculturists are now paying 15.6 percent higher prices for fodder mixtures. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 82 p 1 AU]

IRRIGATION FACILITIES -- Irrigation facilities in the CSSR are servicing a total of 322,000 hectares; roughly two-thirds of this acreage is in Slovakia. Deplorably, the inexpert handling of the facilities is reflected in lower crop yields than planned. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jan 82 p 5 AU]

CONSTRUCTION OF SMALL POWERPLANTS -- The North Bohemia power works enterprise in Decin operates 11 hydroelectric powerplants with a total power generating capacity of 32.81 mw. In the current 5-year plan it will spend Kcs10 million on their maintenance and modernization; it also plans the construction of two new small hydroelectric powerplants. Both of them will be built on the Ohre river -- in Libochovice and Vrsovice near Louny -- and will have an installed power output of 1 mw each. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 82 p 2 AU]

HONECKER RECEIVES CPCZ PRESIDIUM'S JAKES 3 FEB

LD031644 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1500 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 3 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council received on Wednesday Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, for a friendly discussion.

Erich Honecker expressed high regard for his meeting with Gustav Husak last year in Prague and praised the cooperation between the GDR and CSSR, which is progressing successfully on an all-round basis, under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties. It is also an important contribution toward further strengthening the socialist community.

Milos Jakes expressed his gratitude for the opportunity to become more closely acquainted with the SED's experiences in implementing the economic strategy for the eighties. During visits to GDR combines he has been able to form direct personal impressions. He stressed the shared paths of the CSSR and GDR in the struggle for high efficiency and quality and for intensifying the economy. This shows how the advantages of socialism are used to consolidate economic power.

AXEN RECEIVES FLORAKIS-LED DELEGATION 3 FEB

LD031416 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1151 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 3 Feb (ADN) -- A delegation of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee led by Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the party's Central Committee, arrived in Berlin at noon Wednesday for a visit to the GDR at the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. The guests were warmly welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Hermann Axen, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee.

NEW DEPUTY FINANCE MINISTER APPOINTED 1 FEB

AU031044 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 2 Feb 82 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Martin Maassen, Deputy Minister of Finance"]

[Excerpts] Berlin -- Party friend Martin Maassen, member of the Political Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, was appointed GDR deputy minister of finance and installed in his office by Minister Ernst Hoefner on 1 February 1982. Martin Maassen is a member of the GDR's People's Chamber.

KESSLER PRESENTS DONATION TO SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

DW031507 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1617 GMT 2 Feb 82

["Excerpt" from speech delivered Col Gen Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy GDR defense minister and chief of the NVA Political Main Administration, at a 2 February solidarity meeting with the NVA unit "Paul Sasnowski" during which he presented a symbolic solidarity check to Kurt Krueger, secretary general of the GDR Solidarity Committee -- recorded

[Text] By performing exemplary accomplishments in the military training, in the duty system and in combat service the soldiers and civilian employees of our armed forces, in alliance with the brothers-in-arms, are creating those material conditions which are aimed at checking imperialism's drive for confrontation and repelling its striving for military superiority. At the same time we always are implementing the principle that personal, active and anti-imperialist solidarity forms part of our military class mission.

In this respect, too, the past training year has shown visible proof. Active solidarity work was possible only because we can rely in any hour on the active solidarity of all members and civilian employees of the National People's Army, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense of the GDR.

In the name and on behalf of the minister of national defense, of all members and civilian employees of the NVA, the Border Troops and the Civil Defense of the GDR I am handing over to you, dear Comrade Krueger, the symbolic check of a donation worth M19,013,668 and 69 pfennig. [applause]

BERLIN MANAGERS, UNIONS CRITICIZED FOR POOR WORK

DW021512 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 2 Feb 82

[Wolfgang Rademacher commentary]

[Summary] The trade union members of the Koepenick City District of Berlin at their kreis delegates conference demonstrated by many examples how they had contributed toward strengthening the GDR last year. "Compared with 1980 production in 1981 increased by 12.2 percent, this increase being mainly attributed to products of the electrical engineering and microelectronics branches."

Just the same, there were also some shortcomings, the trade union representatives noted. "In part, the trade union representatives observed critically, the readiness of the colleagues to achieve an above-plan output is more marked than the aptitude of managers and the consistency of the plant trade union executive boards to create the indispensable preconditions."

In the television electronics works, the Koepnick cable works and in the Elektrodyn enterprise more than 50 percent of the workers are innovators, and many other plants are just slightly below this level. In the Chromatron enterprise, however, innovators accounted for less than 15 percent of the labor force, the corresponding percentage in the screw factory having been 18.7 percent. No plant can afford differences in the managerial work which have such consequences. "We must guarantee this year's necessary production increase essentially without additional investments, without increased consumption of fuels, energy and material and without any additional labor. This is not a singular demand tailored to 1982; rather this tendency will aslo mark the projects of the future years."

How quickly and with what quality rating this process will be mastered depends on how readily everyone comprehends that the course embarked on is the only correct course for the national economy and for every individual. The trade union members of Koepenick came to terms on this and avowed ambitious targets.

CHURCH ASSOCIATION CHAIRMAN'S REPORT TO SYNOD

DW031133 Bonn DIE WELT in German 3 Feb 82 p 4

[Text] Berlin -- The Protestant Church in the "GDR" will "neither resign itself nor be embittered in the future." This is the motto which the chairman of the church association, Bishop Werner Krusche (Magdebrug), used as the heading for his report to the 60 synod members of the association who gathered in Herrnhut last weekend from all parts of the "GDR." East Berlin refused to grant permission to Western journalists to report on the meeting. DIE WELT documents the most important excerpts from Krusche's report. They prove that the church more and more frequently meets with suspicion and misunderstandings on the part of the SED. No to "Peace Service!"

"The Executive Board (in a talk with State Secretary for Church affairs Gysi) emphasized that the question concerning new security systems, which some day will make it possible to insure peace with peaceful means and to desist from the system of mutual deterrence, urgently requires some further, very concrete concepts. The same holds true for the option of unliteral, calculated steps of disarmement which are necessary if the beginning of a reduction in arms potential is to be found..."

"In great detail motives were expounded which prompt the petition for the establishment of a substitute military service in the social sector. In this connection, the Executive Board in all broadness also referred to the measures and phenomena (premilitary training in the 11th grades, forms of postgraduate training and exercises of civil defense, methods of recruiting reserve officer candidates at institutes of higher learning, and the content of defense instruction at schools) in which, by our findings, requirements of military security are claimed which go beyond what is absolutely necessary..."

"The state secretary for church affairs clearly and unequivocally averred and explained the state's nay to the proposals submitted with regard to the establishment of a "Social peace service." At the same time he reaffirmed that the motives...will not be called in question..."

"The rejection as declared is as follows: In view of the world political situation and the state's responsibility for the security of all its citizens, neither a break in the general conscription nor a revocation of the service oath is justifiable..." The party also rejected the request for the assignment of the people's army "constructive soldiers" to social tasks: "It has turned out in the meantime that the state fails to see any need dor a change in the assignments of construction soldiers. The Executive Board further requested clarification of how room could be given to the freedom of creed and conscience -- as guaranteed in the Constitution -- with respect to reserve service and premilitary training and in cases of change of conviction during penal servitude..."

"The young Christians who, after a thorough search of their minds, have arrived at the decision that they cannot accept military service in any form, must remain aware of the consequences which such a decision might entail. Our churches have taken their side and advocated the view that the state accept and tolerate such a decision by conscience..."

"What will be important in the dialogue with the young people is that they will not allow themselves to be resigned or become embittered in view of the disappointing position adopted by the state. Demonstrative actions will not get us anywhere in our situation..."

"The dialogue (with the state secretary) would be discontinued if the interlocutors charged or insinuated mutual hostility to peace. This is why the concern of the young people must not be suspected as being hostile to peace (which SED Politburo candidate member Werner Walde did in the SED Central Committee in November 1981..."

Communist Education:

"It was with regret," Kursche said, that the Executive Board took note of the rejection of a dialogue with Margot Honecker, minister of public education, on "communist education." Gysi stated "that direct negotiations...cannot take place because this would obliterate the principle of separation of church and state. Instead, he offered an objective discussion with competent interlocutors on the socialist way of life, a discussion which would fully fathom the equal rights of a Christian life within the sphere of the socialist way of life."

Krusche simultaneously expounded the ecclesiastical criteria for such discussions and thus at the same time made evident the existing discrimination against young Christians: The subject of discussion must be the question "in what way the educational goal of communist upbringing and equal rights and the equal respect (guaranteed by Honecker on 6 March 1978) can be so balanced that the religious commitment of children, youngsters and parents will be sympathetically respected and modes of deportment and decisions based on the Christian creed will be respected; that the imparting of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in the concrete implementation of scholastic education and training will be [paragraph continues] carried out without any burdening of conscience, and the avowal of the Christian creed will not have any negative effect on the marks, the characterization of personality and the admission to further institutes of training."

"Unnecessary Aggravation":

During the debate on the report, Krusche, the Saxon regional church president; Kurt Pomsch (Dresden), and the secretary of the association of churches, Christoph Demke (East Berlin) dealt with questions concerning the synod. The bulletin on the meeting states in this context:

It was stated that the talks on the question of how peace could be secured are vital to peace and life. The statement that actions for a "social peace service" are hostile to peace indeed represent an unnecessary aggravation. Surely the declarations of stand by the church had not been expected, yet what matters is to continue the policy of reasonably dealing with each other as declared on 6 March 1978. "We would like to remain on that basis." This must not mean becoming a silent church. The church does not wield any power, nor is it a factor of political power. "All we have is the authority of petitioner."

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ADOPTS SUMMER TIME DECISION

LD031521 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1131 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 3 Feb (ADN) -- In accordance with a decision by the Council of Ministers summer time will come into effect in the GDR in 1982, too. It begins Sunday, March 28 at 0200 local time [0100 GMT] and ends Sunday, September 26, at 0300 local time [0100 GMT].

BRIEFS

NEW TECHNICAL INSTITUTE -- A physical-technical institute of the GDR Academy of Sciences was founded in Jena today. This institute will concentrate on the research fields of physics and nuclear and material sciences. Important cooperation partners of the institute will be the Hermsdorf ceramics works combine, the Jena Carl Zeiss combine and the Jena Friedrich Schieller University. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 29 Jan 82 DW]

BERLIN TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES -- According to Wilhelm (Jakobs), traffic director of the Berlin municipal transportation enterprise, his enterprise operates 260 streetcar trains, 360 buses and 30 subway trains. During the past few years the network of transport lines was continuously improved, and in 1982 new streetcar lines will be commissioned in the Marzahn residential district. Thus, the streetcar lines 11 and 11 G will be extended from the Marzahn interurban railroad station to the track loop at Elisabethstrasse, and streetcar lines 12 and 18 likewise will be essentially extended in direction of Henneckestrasse. Plans further provide for the commissioning of a new streetcar line, number 14, between Henneckestrasse and the track loop at Langenbeckstrasse near Leninallee. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 1 Feb 82 DW]

COTTBUS BEZIRK DEVELOPMENT -- According to Irma Uschkamp, chairman of the Cottbus Bezirk Council, development efforts in 1982 will concentrate on the coal and power sector in the bezirk. By increasing crude-oil extraction by 6 million tons the bezirk will account for 56.3 percent of the GDR's total extraction. By 1985 the existing brown-coal strip mines and the five new strip mines to be opened are supposed to produce 165 million tons. In the field of electric power generation the most important capacity increase during the 5-year plan will be in the Jaenschwalde power plant by 2,000 megawatts. In the current plan year 63 percent of all manpower influx and 28 percent of all school graduates of the territory will be assigned to the coal and/or power combines. It is the responsibility of city and community councils to help promote this development by making corresponding housing space available. Plans provide for the new construction or modernization of 8,500 apartments in Cottbus Bezirk in 1982. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 1 Feb 82 DW]

PLO'S 'ARAFAT CONCLUDES OFFICIAL VISIT 3 FEB

More on Press Conference

LD031824 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 3 Feb (MTI) -- "The acknowledgement of the Budapest office of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a diplomatic representation of full rights expresses the stand of Hungary, the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, that they sympathize with our struggle. This was the most outstanding event of our visit. The raising of the office to the level of diplomatic representation also bears a political message", said Yasir 'Arafat, president of the PLO Executive Committee, at a press conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

As reported earlier, Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja and 'Abd al-Muhsin Abu Mayzar, member of the PLO Executive Committee and spokesman of the organization, agreed on Tuesday to raise the Budapest PLO office to the rank of diplomatic representation.

"The Hungarian people, the Hungarian Government and party have always consistently supported the cause of our people. Our cooperation with Hungary is close and fruitful", said Yasir 'Arafat and went on to add:

"We have had constructive and fruitful discussions also this time, at every level. The results of the talks we had with Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP CC, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Istvan Sarlos, secretary-general of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP CC, and with Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja, are clearly positive. In each question raised Janos Kadar showed great understanding of our problems. Hungary's consistent stand by the cause of the Palestinian people again found expression", he stressed.

'Arafat explained at the press conference that "Zionist colonists were putting increasing pressure on the Palestinian people, the Palestinian revolution. Israel intends to strike a fresh military blow on us", he said, but stated also that "no Israeli aggression is imaginable without the support of the United States. It is the United States that pulls the strings of the imperialist attacks against us". 'Arafat pointed out that these steps were risking detente and peace.

"Our people's trust in victory is stronger now than ever and they have [word indistinct] to attain their goals by all means". "Our struggle is just; therefore we are not alone. We have friends in the socialist countries, in the Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries. This support we consider an important guarantee of the victory", said Yasir 'Arafat.

The principal problem of the Middle East crisis is to solve the Palestinian question, said the president of the PLO Executive Committee. Speaking about the mideastern settlement schemes he explained that the PLO made several comments to the Zahd plan. "One of the most important among them is that the active participation of the Soviet Union is an indispensable condition of the just and lasting settlement of the problem. Furthermore, each unalienable right of the Palestine people must be respected, including the right to return to their homeland and found an independent state under the guidance of the PLO".

'Arafat explained that the starting point to each comment of his organization was furnished by valid resolutions of the UN and by other international conventions. He underlined that the PLO hailed Leonid Brezhnev's settlement proposal and considered it good and worthy of realization from the point of view of fair settlement of the Middle East problem.

Finally the president of the PLO emphasized the importance of the strengthening of pan-Arab solidarity and the role of the Front of Steadfastness. He expressed the view that a new pan-Arab conference could be convened, even if not in the nearest future.

Departure Reported

LD031856 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 3 Feb (MTI) -- The delegation of the PLO which at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee and the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front [HPPF] which was paying an official friendship visit to Hungary under the leadership of Yasir 'Arafat, president of the PLO Executive Committee, left the country on Wednesday.

At the Budapest airport the delegation was seen off by Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary-general of the National Council of the HPPF, Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP CC, and Deputy Foreign Minister Vencel Hazi. 'Abdallah Hijazi, head of the Budapest PLO representation, was also present.

Communique Issued

LD031836 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 3 Feb 82

["Joint Communique" -- MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, 3 Feb (MTI) -- Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed a delegation to Hungary between February 1 and 3, 1982, for an official friendship visit, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, received Yasir 'Arafat. Gyorgy Lazar, member of the HSWP Political Committee and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary general of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front; Andras Gyenes, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee; and Frigyes Puja, member of the HSWP Central Committee and foreign minister, held talks with the Palestinian leader.

At the talks, held in a cordial atmosphere and in the spirit of mutual solidarity, the sides exchanged views on the most important questions of the international situation, with special respect to the Middle East situation. They emphasized that the American Government is increasing its anti-detente policy which also endangers world peace. They assured or their support the African, Asian and Latin American liberation movements fighting for their independence, for democracy and social progress.

The sides expressed their anxiety because of the imperialist endeavours, the aggressive policy of the Israeli leadership supported by the American Government, as a consequence of which tension has increased in the Middle East. They pointed out that the extremist circles of the United States of America make efforts to extend their influence to the Arab area. The American-Israeli strategic agreement is tied against the basic interests of the Arab countries, and presents a direct encouragement for the Israeli leadership for continuing its aggressive, annexation policy, for oppressing the Palestine resistance movement, for disregarding the inalienable rights of the Palestine Arab people strengthened by UN resolutions as well. They condemned the Israeli decision on the annexation of the Golan Heights and Jerusalem, which presents a crude violation of the UN Charter and the generally accepted norms of international law, threatens the sovereignty of the countries of the area and the peace of the world.

They rejected the separate deals, the Camp David agreements and the conspiracy in connection with Palestine autonomy. The sides took a stand for the comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis, an essential condition of which is the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories, assuring the right of the Palestinian Arab people for returning to its homeland, and for self-determination and the establishing of an independent national state.

They pointed out that in the fight to repress Israeli aggression, for the comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis, the unity of the Arab countries, the collaboration of every progressive, patriotic Arab force supporting the just cause of the peoples of the area is indispensable. In connection with this they emphasized the role and activity of the Front of Steadfastness. They took a stand for deepening cooperation and friendship between the Arab peoples and the countries of the socialist community. The sides condemned the repeated Israeli attacks and provocatins against Lebanon, and the Israeli aggressive acts against the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon.

The Hungarian leaders emphasized that the Hungarian people display sympathy and active solidarity for the sacrificing fight of the Palestine Arab people. They strengthened [as received] that the Hungarian people will continue to support the just cause of the Palestine Arab people, its fight for assuring its legitimate rights. On the basis of exchange of letters in the spirit of this, they agreed to raise the Budapest PLO office to the rank of diplomatic representation. Yasir 'Arafat expressed his thanks to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian Government and people for the support provided for their fight.

MTI REPORTS 1982 NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLAN

LD031730 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Budapest, 2 Feb (MTI) -- The primary targets of the 1982 Hungarian National Economic Plan are to improve the external economic equilibrium -- depending on the international conditions and possibilities -- and to preserve the living standard. The National Economic Plan envisages a 1.0-1.5 percent growth of national income, a 2.0-2.5 percent growth of industrial production. To realize this, production of products which can be economically sold on the external markets, which rationally replace import, and which have a low energy and material demand should increase in proportion.

The targets of the plan pose significant demands for agriculture and food industry as well. Production of agricultural products should increase by 4.0-4.5 percent this year. Expanding production serves -- apart from maintaining the fine domestic supply -- to increase exports. Besides increasing the yields, another important task is for the inputs to increase in a more moderate degree than production -- by increasing austerity with energy and materials, the better utilization of means and artificial fertilizer.

Balanced energy supply has particular significance in 1982. The fuel and energy consumption of national economy will only slightly increase. In the interest of this, implementation of the energy management programme of the 6th Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) will be [word indistinct] in every field of economy primarily by reducing the utilization of petroleum products. The further improvement of the external economic equilibrium will be assisted primarily by further moderating investments. The 178,000-180,000 million forints which can be utilized in the socialist sector will be used mainly for putting into operation the investments in progress. The 1982 plan gives preference to developments serving the economic exploitation of energy carriers, the rationalization of their utilization, furthermore, developments serving the expansion of profitable export.

Hungarian National Economy assures the condition of preserving the living standard, [word indistinct] circumstance from internal sources by the (?exploration) of reserves. The consumption of the population and the per capita real incomes will further increase in a slight degree. The average wages of workers and employees will increase similarly to the [number indistinct] percent increase of the consumer's price level. Improving the efficiency of employment requires that the staff demands be adjusted to the changes in the production tasks in every field of the national economy. Thus the employees of unprofitable companies which do not lastingly increase their production are to be transferred to the large companies capable of dynamic development, to the auxiliary farms and to the field of servicing. The switch-over to the five-day work week will be completed by mid-1988 with the exception of education and agriculture.

WOJTECKI, URBAN PRESS CONFERENCE ON AGRICULTURE

LD031722 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Feb (PAP) -- A press conference for foreign correspondents accredited in Poland devoted to problems of the diet and prospects for the development of agriculture is being held at the press centre of the Foreign Ministry.

Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy, Jerzy Wojtecki presented the situation in this area. The conference is chaired by government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban.

The minister of agriculture presented the main plans of agriculture for 1982 and difficulties related to grain imports.

One of the main tasks of the Polish economy in 1982 consists in increasing the production of grains, meat, milk and processed products, to be based on making the greatest possible use of national production reserves.

The minister said that one of the important tasks is to expand industrial output for the needs of agriculture by re-orienting a number of factories for the needs of agriculture.

A radical improvement in Poland's food situation depends on the possibly universal intensification of the agricultural production and its effectiveness.

The government will initiative a number of laws on social security for private farmers, arable land consolidation, protection of arable land and forests.

Minister Wojtecki stressed that difficulties in supplying the home market with food are deepened by limits in the imports of grains, including the U.S. maize, which will result in a marked reduction of poultry breeding and additional difficulties for the population.

In a short statement made at the start of the press conference, the government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban said that throughout the post-war decades Poland was priding herself in becoming an industrial nation. Industries were to make Poland a modern country and provide for prosperity. Nonetheless, in the present situation the reorientation of economic priorities has become the most important matter. Farming and the nation's diet are now the most important target of the Polish economy while the main target of industry is to provide agriculture with means of production.

Food self-reliance is our objective. Formerly, the United States was the main foreign food supplier for Poland.

"The Reagan sanctions have hit us at a sensitive spot -- the nation's diet. They take pains to dictate to us concrete steps in the purely internal Polish policy," said Jerzy Urban, defining this fact as insulting to Poles.

Poland cannot be incapacitated, said J. Urban.

The U.S. claims that the economic sanctions do not strike at the Polish nation are hypocritical and make no sense.

Jerzy Urban defined the farming production as a vital must for the nation.

"This is a biological and economic necessity and now it is also a political must."

Poland's economic independence from the West is an avenue today to strengthening the Polish sovereignty, the government press spolesman stressed.

Answering questions, Minister Jerzy Wojtecki told newsmen that the government would carry out the social accords signed with farmers. There are a number of practical instances already of such implementation and they find a reflection in a number of bills submitted to the Sejm (parliament).

Poland is among few countries which introduced a pension system for farmers on such a scale. Further improvements in the system are planned. A farmer receives a pension depending on the quota of produce sold to the state and the maximum pension is 6,000 zlotys.

Asked about the effects of U.S. sanctions for Polish agriculture in terms of concrete figures, Minister Wojtecki said:

"Poland planned to buy 5 million tons of grains and 1.5 million tons of concentrated fodders. So far, Poland has ensured herself the supplies of 3 million tons. So she needs another 3 million tons. In view of the lack of fodders, chiefly the U.S. maize, the breeding of poultry will stop in Polish farms from April. Therefore, there will be a shortfall of 350,000 tons of poultry meat in the Polish market this year."

Asked if the Polish Government plans to introduce compulsory deliveries of farm produce, Minister Wojtecki replied:

"I do not know if we will introduce compulsory farm produce deliveries. I am against them. But if a necessity arises which will force us to do this, then we will have to introduce them. But I do not know if and when."

"Asked why before World War II Poland was an exporter of grain and fodder and now she has to import them, Minister Wojtecki replied that before World War II the per capita meat consumption ranged from 18 to 20 kgs.

In 1979 the figure was 72 kgs. Now, the per capita meat consumption amounts to 60 kgs annually. The minister said the chief and direct cause of the imports of grain and fodder was the fact that the plant production had lagged behind the development of animal production in Poland.

Asked about the Polish society's reactions to the last price hikes, Jerzy Urban said:

In contradistinction to the price rises in 1976 and 1980 in Poland, no protests or demonstrations have been reported. This is being so because the consciousness of the necessity of changing the price relations have been growing in the society for years. This is being so first of all because the authorities have consulted [on] this operation for so long, bringing in the indispensable corrections in step with the public opinion voices.

Minister Urban said that the price hikes continue being the topic of animated discussions in various social groups, including workers. That has to do, in particular, with some anxiety over the coincidence in time of fuels and food articles price rises with price increases for industrial goods which result not from the government's decisions but from the economic reform requirements. The discussions of this kind are a normal thing, said Jerzy Urban.

Asked about recent events in Gdansk Minister Urban explained the background and character of the disturbances which took place in that city.

Referring to a report on this subject given by PAP, Minister Urban said that on Jan. 30 people laid flowers and burnt lights at the monument to shipyard worker in Gdansk.

A considerable number of youths gathered. The crowd grew to some 3 thousand. Shouts hostile to the Citizens' Militia were raised. Minister Urban stressed that at present, in the period of martial law in Poland, any gatherings are banned. The militia dispersed the crowd and the accident stopped.

After Minister Urban's statement, the manager of the Foreign Ministry press centre for foreign journalists said that in order to dispel any rumours on the events the centre is going to organize a one-day trip for foreign journalists in Poland to Gdansk by plane on Feb. 9.

Minister Urban also denied rumours about alledged strike actions in the Ursus tractor works outside Warsaw. He added such rumours are spread by foreign propaganda centres.

Replying to more questions by foreign correspondents, Minister Wojtecki said the losses caused by the flood were preliminarily estimated at 5,000 million zlotys, that a number of factories changed their range of products and started manufacturing light machinery and plant for agriculture, and that the authorities are not interested in introducing the private farmers' compulsory deliveries of farm produce.

So far, the supplies of 800,000 tons of grain, contracted for last year, have been delayed and the grain loan, announced by the government, will make it possible to additionally purchase grains.

In answering questions about state farms, the minister said that no state farm was dissolved, that they will not be harmed by new principles of financing and that they have the right to receive bank credits. He confirmed the question put by DPA correspondent R. March that Poland needs 3 million tons of grains and that President Reagan's limits will make it difficult to meet the population's needs for foodstuffs.

WARSAW REPORTS GRAIN PROCUREMENT FIGURES

LD040942 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] In January the farmers delivered 100,000 tons of grain to procurement points. From last year's harvest a total of about 1.5 million tons of grain for consumption have been purchased so far. There is a shortfall of about 800,000 tons of grain before farmers fully meet the contractual agreements undertaken last year. Although the daily procurement rate in January came to over 3,000 tons and was much higher than in December last year, its level gives no cause for happiness. The grain and milling industry alone requires 18,000-19,000 tons of grain daily for flour, cereals, flakes and pasta. Additional quantities of grain are required for fodder production.

This half-year the milling industry requires about 3 million tons of grain. Meanwhile stocks are becoming depleted and procurement is still insufficient. Therefore, in the next few weeks everything must be done so that farmers deliver even more grain than in January. This obligation applies primarily to those farmers who have not yet fulfilled the undertaken contractual agreements.

The Military Council of National Salvation appeal to Polish farmers to step up sales of agricultural produce to the state still remains valid. Many private farmers and workforces of state farm enterprises and of production cooperatives have responded positively to this appeal by delivering to granaries additional quantities of grain in addition to those delivered under the contractual agreements. There are also first results of the grain loan floated last month. Grain deliveries under the terms of this loan are very profitable for the farmer, since he does not have to wait for consecutive increases in procurement prices as the grain which he supplies now will be repaid at the prices in force in the years 1983-85 when the grain bond is exchanged for money.

AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE DISCUSSES CURRENT TASKS

LD031756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Another meeting of the Central Committee and voivodship committee instructors and experts in agricultural matters, has been held at the PZPR Central Committee.

Stanislaw Zieba, head of the Central Committee Agriculture and Food Economy Department, spoke on the tasks of party organizations in the countryside and in the food industry. Focusing his attention in particular on the development of vegetable production and especially of cereals, he spoke about the present cereal balance sheet at the national level and paid particular attention to the need to accelerate and intensify the purchase of cereals. He also described the proposals for new purchasing prices of agricultural produce which had been debated with the rural population.

During the meeting the conclusions resulting from an assessment of the state of implementation of the guidelines of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee concerning the development of agriculture and food economy were also presented.

'Unsatisfactory Level'

LD031848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting of leaders of the Central Committee and of voivodship party committees specializiing in agricultural matters has been held at the party Central Committee.

During the meeting Stanislaw Zieba, head of the Agriculture and Food Economy Department of the Central Committee, presented the key aspects of the assessment of the situation in agriculture which was recently carried out by the party Central Committee Politburo and bye the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium. He discussed the present tasks of party organizations in the countryside and in the agricultural-foodstuffs industry, concentrating mainly on matters connected with the development of plant production, and in particular of grain production. He stressed the need to increase and accelerate grain procurement. The harvest last year, a high fodder harvest and the present level of animal production create favorable conditions for establishing better ratios between plant production and the number of animals. The fodder balance points to the fact that without a danger of a drop in the number of animals it is not only possible but it is downright necessary to purchase from farmers -- as part of the grain loan -- about 1.5 million tons of grain. It is also necessary to buy up grain which is still due as a result of the contracts signed last year. This grain is necessary to cover the necessary consumption needs of the population before the new harvest.

Stanislaw Zieba said that at present, however, the daily procurement of grain is at an unsatisfactory level.

ZSL PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES GRAIN PROCUREMENT

LD040500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] The Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee yesterday discussed the current agricultrual problems. In connection with the difficult grain procurement situation -- which, because of the U.S. embargo, is threatening a dangerous reduction in bread reserves and supplies -- all farmers were again urged to accelerate grain deliveries to the procurement points. It was stated that it is the Polish farmers' moral duty to not allow a bread shortage in Poland.

The session also examined the cultivation of the land. The Presidium of the Supreme Committee approved the proposed constitutional amendments to guarantee the inviolability of the farmers' ownership of the land. The ZSL's Sejm club was told to push for quick Sejm approval of the draft statutes on land cultivation that the government submitted.

PROCUREMENT PRICES INCREASED FOR CEREALS

LD021844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy has announced that as of 1 February procurement prices have been increased for 4 basic cereals from Z950 to Z1,200 for 100 kgs.

For contracted cereal, delivered within the framework of the cereals loan, a farmer will receive a 10 percent supplement. On top of this, for the delivery of cereals in a fixed time a farmer will be entitled to another supplement also amounting to 10 per cent of the basic price. The total procurement price for cereals of average quality, contracted and delivered within the framework of the cereals loan in a fixed time, amounts to Z1,440 for 100 kgs.

All the benefits and rights connected with the delivery of cereals within the framework of the cereals loan are being maintained. Increased cereal prices, introduced in 1 February, take into consideration a fertilizer discount, thus far applied to contracts. Cereals delivered within the framework of contracts up to 31 January this year will be accounted according to principles still in force, including the fertilizer discount, and payment made for products sold after 1 November last year will be accounted in accordance with Resolution 257 of the Council of Ministers of 7 December last year.

MINISTER GROCHOWSKI DETAILS NEW PRICE RISES

LD032130 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Statement by Prof Dr. Zozislaw Grochowski, deputy minister of agriculture and the food economy -- recorded; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers adopted a decision yesterday about raising the procurement prices for agricultural products by an average of 21 percent. These prices are effective beginning 1 February. The increase in procurement prices constitutes full compensation for the increase in the prices of the means of production for the farming community and also partial compensation for the increase in food prices.

In order to ensure profitable prices for industry -- in accordance with the principles of the economic reform -- prices of machinery have to be raised by about 100 percent, that is, by more than three and a half times. In order to ensure the profitability of various services of agricultural cooperatives, their prices have to be almost quadrupled. In order to cover in the procurement price the full costs of the means of production and services for agriculture, the procurement prices for agricultural products need to increase not by 21 percent but by more than 30 percent. However further fairly high subsidies would then have to be added to the retail prices of foodstuffs which have been fixed on the basis of current procurement prices.

Thus, a compromise solution has been chosen: namely, that there should be a partial subsidy granted to the prices of means of production for agriculture. For instance, the subsidy for mineral fertilizers will come to about 30 percent. Plant protection means, certain machines, and also services, in particular chemical application services, and industrial fodders will also be subsidized. In sum, the outlays by private farms for the purchasing of means of production and services in the current year will increase by more than Z160 billion compared to last year. The value of commodity production will increase, on the other hand, by more than Z180 billion.

Now some brief details for farmers on the subject of the new procurement prices. The basic price of grain has been fixed at a level of Z1,200 per quintal. A farmer supplying grain on a contract basis will obtain a price which is 10 percent higher than this. In the event that a farmer supplies fully and on time the amount he has contracted for, he will get a 10 percent bonus. Thus, the maximum price for grain can reach Z1,440.

And now let me give to you some prices for basic animal products. The new price paid for slaughter pigs if Z125 per kilo, and for young slaughter pigs it is Z110 per kilo. The price for milk is Z16.5 per liter. The prices for industrial compound fodder are at present fixed according to changes in the procurement prices of individual animal products.

I would like to add that in accordance with the resolution of the Council of Ministers the income obtained from agricultural production from 1 November to 31 January and kept in a special bank account will be increased by the average indicator for the increase in procurement prices, that is by 21 percent. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

TRADE, INDUSTRY MEMBERS DISCUSS PRICE FIXING

LD031156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Negotiations continue between traders and representatives of industry regarding the fixing of prices. In the group of industrial articles the principle of commission sale [sprzecas komisowa], whichis also to be the subject of a market survey has been adopted. In the group of textile goods the principle has been adopted that the prices of the products on offer may not exceed 200 percent of those which have been in force to date. Contracts previously concluded defining the general value of the goods added by trade are at present being subjected to alterations.

HOARDED CIGARETTES, TIRE SALES MALPRACTICE FOUND

LD031632 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] At present, over 300 preliminary proceedings have been initiated in cases of offenses of a speculative nature. Among others, functionaries of the Wroclaw militia discovered a cigarette stockpile in a private apartment. There were over 1,500 packs of Silesia, Giewont and Popularne cigarettes there. In another apartment 1,200 packs of cigarettes were found, as well as fur pelts, 87 watches, 35 gold rings, and a quantity of vodka. The value of these goods was estimated to be about Z2 million.

Members of the Krosno Voivodship commission for combatting speculation uncovered examples of selling favored customers car tires and inner tubes in the Stomil (?sponsored) [patronacki] shop in Sanok. It was ascertained that two consignments of tires and inner tubes delivered there, valued at more than Z700,000, ended up in the storeroom instead of on the shelves of the shop. From this storeroom, on the orders of representatives of the directors of the enterprise, they were sold exclusively to acquaintances.

BUDAPEST RADIO INTERVIEWS POLISH OFFICIALS

LD031416 [Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1855 GMT on 2 February carried a 30-minute program entitled "Synthesis: A Roundup of Reports about Poland," presented by Miklos Lengyel, which consists largely of a replay of previously broadcast interviews by Budapest correspondents in Poland with leading Polish figures including PZPR Central Committee Secretary Orzechowski, Polish Military Council of National Salvation adviser Capt Gornicki, PZPR Politburo member Siwak and others.

The program goes on to cite an interview in Warsaw on an unspecified date with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak, who is asked whether the rationing system and the radical price rises entail a fall in living standards and about the prospects of economic reform. Wozniak answers in Polish, with a Hungarian translation superimposed, as follows:

"The drop in living standards is a fact. On a cautious estimate, living standards have fallen by 15 percent. Right now the problem is not a further reduction in living standards, rather, it is to halt this reduction. Therefore, we must fight for the maintenance of living standards in 1982. It is obvious that the result depends on a number of factors. It depends, for instance, on the quality of the organization of labor in industry, the utilization of energy sources, an increase in labor productivity, on improvement of the management of the economy and, above all, the pace at which we can carry out our economic reform objectives. Naturally, it depends also on the way the situation changes on the world market. As regards our economic relations, our contacts with the socialist countries are unambiguous in their nature. They are all based on cooperation and the provision of assistance -- I must stress, in the first place, cooperation. As regards our capitalist contacts, the differences are very great. Reagan and the U.S. administration, for instance, have launched an intensive attack against us. The way I see it, it will be discovered in the long term that, with reference to this economic blockade, Reagan has committed a political error and certain negative effects of this may be felt in the next few weeks."

The program goes on to quote remarks by other Polish figures, then the presenter says that the pastoral letter issued 31 January by Polish Primate Archbishop Glemp "attracted a great deal of attention both in Poland and abroad." Minister Jerzy Kuberski, head of the Polish State Office for Religious Affairs, is asked about the government's views on Glemp's letter, to which Kuberski, speaking in Polish with a superimposed Hungarian translation, replies as follows:

"Archbishop Glemp, primate of Poland, addressed believers in a sermon delivered in Warsaw's Holy Cross Church last Sunday, which was broadcast on the radio. In this sermon, which was naturally religious in character, he very firmly stressed the importance of calm and order. He requested everyone to carry out their duties while bearing in mind the good of the country, and although we all feel the burdens of the state of emergency, nonetheless, we should carry on with our lives in calm. And here I would like to stress also that he called on the Catholic laity and believers to organize committees for national salvation and to participate in the work of these committees. I believe that we may see yet another proof in this of the solicitude of the church to ensure that the ending of the state of emergency may be brought about as soon as possible. At the same time, it is also aware of the fact that the state of emergency must lead to normalization in all walks of life in our country. Without this, the state of emergency cannot be brought to an end. I would like to emphasize that this is the reason why the church hierarchy is striving to ensure that the state of emergency leads to an improvement of the situation in Poland."

The program concludes by summarizing some remarks by Polish Premier Jaruzelski.

MILITARY COUNCIL MEMBER IN PIOTRKOW TRYBUNALSKI

LD031504 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Lt Gen Wlodzimierz Oliwa, member of the Military Council of National Salvation and commander of the Warsaw Military District, is visiting the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship today. This morning he met the voivodship administrators: First Secretary of the party voivodship committee Stanislaw Kolasa, and Deputy Voivoda Wladyslaw Walach, as well as military commissar, Colonel Wiktor Iwan. They discussed the region's economic problems.

Gen Wlodzimierz Oliwa will also visit the military units temporarily based in Piotrkow Trybunalski and the Pioma mining machine factory.

ACTIVITIES OF SALVATION COMMITTEES REPORTED

LD032040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] In almost every parish and in many plants and districts in individual areas civic committees for national salvation are being born. In towns and villages of Bialystok Voivodship there are almost 70 such committees. In Walbrzych Voivodship there are more than 30 and there are as many in Biala Podlaska and Slupsk Voivodships. There are 40 in Czestochowa Voivodship and in Torun Voivodship there are 225.

Each civic committee has about a score of members. The committees have one fundamental aim: to act to achieve national conciliation and to lead the country out of the crisis.

The Civic Committee of National Salvation in Nowa Huta is undertaking the solution of matters involving environmental protection and improving commuting services between the center of Krakow and the plant [Nowa Huta steelworks].

In parishes in many voivodships members of the committees are holding sincere talks with farmers on possibilities to improve the procurement of agricultural goods and livestock, and on the realization of the grain loan. They are appealing to the farmers to help out the state and society in this way. This is taking place, for example, in Radzyn Podlaski Parish in Biala Podlaska Voivodship, in the villages of Kalisz Voivodship, and in Mielnik Parish on the Bug River in Bialystok Voivodship.

The Civic Committee for National Salvation at the Lubartow Unitra plant, which produces tape-recorders, has proposed the establishment of a social fund for the development of the industry producing agricultural machinery and tools.

PROF TOPOLSKI CALLS FOR NATIONAL UNITY

LD031744 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Excerpt] What is Poland to be like once martial law ends? A statement on this subject is printed by RZECZPOSPOLITA, and its author is Prof Jerzy Topolski.

The author is of the opinion that among the fundamental problems upon whose resolution the future course and shape of Poland depend, the structure and content of what can be called a national front, or a unity of the nation for which an understanding between the authorities and the public is merely an initial, albeit basic, condition is of primary importance. In Poland's position, Professor Topolski writes, the unity of the nation can only be attained through an integral linkage of the principle of the leading role of the party with the demand for the active and democratic participation by the nation in decisions about its fortunes. This also calls for the adjusting both of the idea of the nation's unity and the mechanism of the leading role of the party to the new historical stage. If that should not occur, one will have to count on there being an ever-recurrent contradiction generating conflicts. It would be ignoring the realities to think that the unity of the nation, and, at the same time, the unity between the nation and the authorities, can be achieved by a predetermined date on the basis of a homogenization of ideologies, weltanschauungs and political attitudes.

One has to assume, Professor Topolski states, that our daily thinking will be directed by the fact that the evaluation of people is not dependent on the agreement between these elements and particular standards, but on their honesty and professional skill at work and on their civic attitude.

MIECZYSLAW CYGAN APPOINTED NEW GDANSK VOIVODA

LD031836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Maj Gen Dr Mieczyslaw Cygan to the post of Gdansk voivoda. Since 1978 Mieczylsaw Cygan has held the post of head of the scientific group [zespol naukowy] of the Polish Army General Staff.

PASSPORT OFFICE ISSUES REMINDER ON REGULATIONS

LD031940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] In connection with inquiries from the population, the passport office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs announces:

Many citizens, while conducting official business [sprawy urzedowe], use passports to identify themselves -- passports which were issued but not used before 13 December -- instead of using identity cards, which are obligatory during the period of martial law. In connection with this the Ministry of Internal Affairs passport office requests that these passports be returned to the passport organs which issued them and that identity cards be picked up. At the same time it is announced that when it is necessary to travel abroad for important, compassionate or personal matters, after permission is granted, the passport must be renewed.

LOT AIRLINES ANNOUNCES FLIGHT CANCELLATIONS

LD031646 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Polish LOT Airlines announces the cancellation of the following international flights: to Cologne on 4 February, to London on 5 February, to Vienna on 6 February, to London on 7 February, and to Frankfurt-am-Main on 8 February.

Further, in connection with the small number of passengers, Polish LOT Airlines is suspending Saturday flights on the Warsaw-Szczecin route as of 6 February.

FLOOD ALERT CONTINUES IN SIX VOIVODSHIPS

LD031138 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Flood alert continues in force in six voivodships: Plock, Wloclawek, Skierniewice, Szczecin, Gorzow Wielkopolski and Poznan. This morning, however, the state of alert in Zielona Gora Voivodship was called off.

RESUMPTION OF MANY PUBLICATIONS REPORTED

TV Report

LD010230 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2120 GMT 30 Jan 82

[Excerpt] The introduction of martial law suspended the publication of daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly and other periodicals. Gradually, thanks to manifestations of normalization and stabilization of the situation in the country, some publications have been resumed. DZIENNIK LUDOWY, KURIER POLSKI, ZYCIE WARSZAWY and EXPRESS WIECZORNY are among the first central papers to resume publication.

The following publications have either reappeared or will, in the near future, reach the reading public: dailies: ILUSTROWANY KURIER POLSKI -- Bydgoszcz; KURIER SZCZECINSKI, ECHO DNIA -- Kielce; DZIENNIK ZACHODNI -- Katowice; WIECZOR -- the afternoon Katowice paper; TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA which, in accordance with the recommendation of the Warsaw party committee, will now have two editions: the capital city edition, as TRYBUNA WARSZAWSKA, the organ of the Warsaw party committee, and as TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA, for the Siedlce, Ciechanow and Ostroleka Voivodships; NOWOSCI -- the afternoon Torun paper; DZIENNIK WIECZORNY -- the afternoon Bydgoszcz paper; WIECZOR WYBRZEZA, DZIENNIK BALTYCKI and GLOS WYBRZEZA -- Gdansk; GAZETA KRAKOWSKA and DZIENNIK POLSKI -- Krakow; PZPR weeklies: KRONIKA -- Bielsko-Biala; WIADOMSCI ELBLASKIE, PANORAMA LESZCZYNSKA, NOWINY JELENIOGORSKIE, ZIEMIA KALISKA, GAZETA CZESTOCHOWSKA, ZIEMIA GORZOWSKA, ZIEMIA PRZEMYSKA, DUNAJEC, issued in Nowy Saca; WIADOMOSCI SKIERNIEWICKIE, TRYBUNA WALBRZYCHSKA, TYGODNIK PIOTRKOWSKI, KRAJOBRAZY, issued in Suwalki; TYGODNIK PLOCKI and the publication VOLKSSTIMME, published in the Yiddish language.

Moreover, decisions have been made to resume publication of IDEOLOGIA: POLITYKA, ZYCIE PARTII, SUGESTI, POLITYKA, PERSPEKTYWY, ZYCIE LITERACKIE, PRAWO I ZYCIE, PRZEKROJ, ZA I PRZECIW, HEJNAL MARIACKI, GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, CHLOPSKA DROGA, GROMADA ROLNIKA POLSKIEGO, ZIELONY SZTANDAR -- weekly of the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, and TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY issued by the SD; ARGUMENTY, WIES WSPOLCZESNA, ROBTNIK ROLNY, TEMPO -- sports weekly issued in Krakow and biweeklies; OWSIATA I WYCHOWANI and RADA NARODOWA-GOSPODARKA I ADMINISTRACJA TERENOWA, BRYZA, monthly of the Polish maritime shipping; Warsaw's INFORMATOR KULTURALNY, KRAJ RAD; publications of the Polish INTERPRES agency: POLSKA, PANORAMA POLSKA, and also RODA as well as the publication (AUSZRA) in the Lithuanian language.

Christian Weekly Reappears

LD291318 Warsaw International Service in English 1230 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Text] The Christian weekly ZA I PRZECIW has reappeared on newsstands. Its first issue this year carries a letter from Pope John Paul II written in connection with the 600th anniversary of the presence of the Black Madonna canvas in Czestochowa and an interview with Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, as well as a major article in 1982.

REVIVAL OF CONTACTS WITH EMIGRE POLES REPORTED

LD011634 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 1 Feb 82

[Text] As the harsh laws of the state of martial law ease, a gradual revival of the traditional forms of contact between emigre Poles and the homeland are taking place. True, only representatives of Polonia businesses are arriving at present, but this means that it will not be long before private and tourist travel resume. A desire to visit Poland has been expressed in the Polonia circles of all countries in West Europe. Talks are also underway with representatives of the association of Polish-American travel bureaus. Poles from the United States would like to visit the homeland, particularly because of this year's jubilee celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Jasna Gora image.

A Polonia forum, which is a tried and tested, useful platform for an exchange of views on issues of interest to Poles at home and abroad is planned for this year. It is not yet certain whether or not the traditional schedule of events will undergo a certain temporary reduction, for purely material reasons. It is seen as essential, however, to invite the youngest Polonia representatives to the homeland of their forefathers for their vacations.

Cooperation With Expatriates

LD290048 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Text] Putting the activity of the Polish economy in order as a result of the imposition of the martial law has raised the confidence of Poles living abroad with regard to the stabilization of our economy. At the same time, during the difficult period, the thesis of economic cooperation with a wide element of economic relationships between Poland and Polonia [Polish community living outside Poland] has been confirmed. Previously made contacts are being continued and in Polonia business circles the conviction that market mechanisms which are being introduced in our country in connection with the economic reform form the foundations for a suitable partnership model is becoming more and more popular. These problems were discussed today at a successive session of the interministerial commission for matters of cooperation with Polonia which took place in Warsaw with the participation of the government plenipotentiary for these matters, Minister Wieslaw Adamski.

During the course of the deliberations, which were chaired by Marian Dmochowski, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who supervizes the work of the commission, the systematic growth of Polonia enterprises abroad was pointed out. The number of these enterprises was doubled last year compared with 1980. A U-turn occurred, particularly last year, in the shifting of the emphasis in economic cooperation with Polonia from the sphere of commodity turnover to economic activity directly in Poland. Attention was drawn to the fact that the economic blockade inspired by President Reagan's administration was not met with the approval of Western business circles, contrary to U.S. anticipations. The significance of the comprehensive Sejm statute being prepared was emphasized. The statute deals with foreign investment in Poland. The continuation of promotion efforts to promote economic cooperation abroad was deemed a matter of great importance. Under Secretary Marian Dmochowski stated that it is the country's intention to create economically healthy and mutually beneficial cooperation with Polonia.

LE MONDE: 'TEXT' OF WALESA APPEAL FROM PRISON

PM040909 Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Feb 82 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Mr Walesa: No Stepping Back"]

[Text] On Tuesday 26 January Mr Walesa was notified of an internment order. From the villa in which he is interned he managed to send a short commentary to his friends. These two texts are as follows:

Gdansk central Citizens Militia station. 56 L. Dz.G.D.H. [expansion unknown] 182.

Internment decision No 182:

Considering that to leave at liberty citizen:

Surname and first name: Walesa, Lech....

Profession and place of work: Electrician, Lenin Shipyard.

Would threaten state security and public order owing to activity of an anarchical nature in social life in the Gdansk Voivodship.... It has been decided:

1 -- To intern Citizen Walesa, Lech and to place him in an isolation center at...;

2 -- The investigation group at the Gdansk central Citizens' Militia station has been instructed to implement the order.

[Dated] Gdansk, 12 December 1981.

The Solidarity chairman has managed to smuggle out the following hurriedly written commentary: "This was handed to me at 1500 on 26 January 1982. In other words, gradual elimination methods. I would not be surprised if they start to attribute some nonsense to me. It would of course be trumped-up and would include the presentation of false witnesses. The whole of public opinion, ours and the world's, has been deceived into thinking that I am not interned, and the document in question was written on 12 December and handed to me on 26 January. This example should be used to demonstrate the perfidy of their actions, and you should publicly distribute what I ask you to. This partner has never been and will never be honest. For that reason: No stepping back. Nobody must be allowed to be eliminated, because that is a method. I ask you to publicize this example."

SOLIDARITY FORMS UNDERGROUND COMMITTEE IN GDANSK

PM031151 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 3 Feb 82 p 1

[Robin Gedye report: "Secret Solidarity Leaders Chosen"]

[Text] Solidarity, the banned Polish trade union, has set up an underground coordinating committee in Gdansk to replace its 120-member National Commission, most of whose members are interned, according to reliable information reaching THE DAILY TELEGRAPH yesterday.

Twelve of the most senior Solidarity members still at liberty agreed to lead the newly-formed National Commission of Resistance during a meeting on Jan 13 in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarity.

A man using the pseudonym "Mieszke" was appointed to stand in for Mr Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, who is being detained near Warsaw.

Three documents formulated at the meeting have been smuggled into the West.

One says: "The resistance group will act as the chief organising body (of Solidarity) until:

1 -- The withdrawal of martial law and restoration to full legal status of Solidarity.

2 -- All imprisoned and interned Solidarity members, students and intellectuals are freed.

3 -- Meaningful dialogue is undertaken between the ruling body and Solidarity members under the leadership of Lech Walesa.

"The Solidarity Resistance Committee is the natural progression of the National Commission convened on Dec 13, 1981 in Gdansk and takes upon itself the responsibility to coordinate the conspiratorial activities of the union throughout Poland.

"We warn all members of Solidarity against attempts to negotiate independently with the government. In the present situation, there is a definite need for unity in Solidarity."

The text is signed "Mieszke."

Another document addressed to the Polish people calls for further acts of non-violent protest. It says they should never agree to martial law and send petitions to the government.

An explanatory letter accompanying the documents said that since Dec 13, when martial law was declared, the activities of the police had become more frightening.

"Plain-clothed and secret policy seal off roads at random and check documents of inhabitants and passers-by looking for Solidarity members. This reminds me of films of Gestapo tactics during the war.

"The initial shock of martial law has diminished and people are pulling themselves together, as is Solidarity. But is is hard to organise ourselves with such limited communications."

LE MONDE ON RESPONSE TO GDANSK INCIDENTS

PM031633 Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Feb 82 pp 1, 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "Tension in Gdansk"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Tough reprisals have been taken against the inhabitants of Gdansk following the street demonstrations which took place there on Saturday 30 January. The curfew has been brought forward by 3 hours and has been fixed from 2000 to 0500 hours. Automobile travel has virtually been banned and urban telephone links, reestablished a short time ago, have been cut off again.

In a communique published on Sunday evening, which is the only source of information on these events for the time being, the Ministry of Internal Affairs accuses the organizers of being "inspired by the American administration's propaganda." This explanation, which is slightly more subtle than the series at present being shown on television about the links between the CIA and the opposition, makes little of the growing development of clandestine Solidarity networks and especially of the implementation of the abrupt food price increases this Monday morning.

According to the official version, these "incidents provoked by groups of young people" broke out near the Lenin Shipyard; in other words, probably around the monument erected in memory of the workers who fell in December 1970. The "attempts" made through slogans and pamphlets to persuade the workers leaving the yard to demonstrate apparently failed, thanks to appeals for calm from the forces of order. A "new attempt" was apparently then made downtown, and it was there that the militia dispersed the crowd for "aggression" against it and for attempting to "attack" public buildings.

Some 14 people were apparently injured, 8 of them members of the militia. The majority of the 205 demonstrators arrested (who will be tried under the emergency procedure) are apparently "young people, including students, technical school pupils and schoolchildren."

Proceedings have also been started against the "organizers," whose identity and possible political allegiance are not specified. It is possible to conclude from these figures that the demonstration was fairly large and to conclude from this description that it was not thought opportune to charge the demonstrators outside the gates of the Lenin Shipyard.

The Stranglehold on the Church Is Being Tightened

In any case, the harshness with which a whole city has been "punished" for these incidents bears witness to the determination with which the normalization operation is being conducted. For instance, on Friday the army daily, describing (with reference to LE MONDE) the formation in August 1980 of the Solidarity experts' group, had no hesitation in condemning as Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] members or sympathizers Professor Stelmachowski, one of the primate's advisers, and Mr Mazowiecki and Mr Cywinski, two of the pope's personal friends.

Although ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI took care to contrast these men with Professor Kukulowicz, the representative whom former Primate Cardinal Wyszynski sent as a legate to Mr Walesa, it is clear that the stranglehold around the church is now to be tightened. The Catholic heirarchy which, until General Jaruzelski's speech to the Sejm, wanted to believe in the possibilities of negotiation is now showing its disillusionment.

The arrests and internments continue. Despite Monsignor Glemp's repeated protests, civil servants, journalists and cadres are still being required, on pain of being fired, to resign from Solidarity. For instance, Supreme Court Judge Rudnicki was recently fired for refusing to sign the "declaration of loyalty" which was asked of him. There is less and less talk of allowing Solidarity to reemerge and increasing talk of "social committees" created in enterprises and clearly aimed at playing the role of trade unions, before serving to form new trade unions one day.

Finally, the "national accord" to which the government makes such emphatic reference is reduced a little more clearly each day to surrounding the party, under the army's control, with satellite or "resatellitized" groups and with the civilian committees for national salvation of which there is a growing number -- at least in official circles. For instance, Mr Komender, new chairman of the Catholic Pax group since the ousting of Mr Reiff, has just had a meeting with General Jaruzelski. He informed him of his members' desire to "take party in solving the crisis" and to take part in the civilian committees. The general said that he viewed that participation "positively," and the PAP agency simultaneously announced that the "suspension" of Catholic laymen's associations had been lifted.

"Communism With a Military Face"

This is not much of an easing of restrictions even if you add to it the lifting of the need for prior permission to hold family celebrations and "some meetings" of the Red Cross or fire service and promise to restore intercity telephone links on 10 February. It will only be possible to obtain such telephone connections, which were automatic, through the operator, and they will be monitored; similarly it will only be possible to send (censored) telegrams if you give your identity.

Thus a "communism with a military face" is gradually being established, borrowing both from the repression of the Stalinist era and from the desire for technocratic reforms frequently demonstrated by conventional dictatorships. There is no doubt that it was necessary to increase prices to counter inflation, rebalance the market and restore some value to the currency. This is being done in one stage, going so far as to increase food prices by 300 or 400 percent and increasing the prices of industrial products by an average of 70 percent. At the same time preparations are being made to have the Sejm adopt an economic reform this month based on enterprise autonomy, self-financing, financial profitability and self-management. The regime's reforming cadres (they do exist) see that as concrete proof not only of a sincere desire for renewal but also, as Mr Baka, minister responsible for the economic reform, says, of the desire to impose change on the apparatus once and for all by making it law.

Without even mentioning the fragility of this guarantee, it remains to be seen what enterprise autonomy means when the economy's decisive sectors are militarized and what self-management means when there are no longer either trade unions or any freedom of speech. The answer given by a man like Mr Baka is: "Of course conditions are not favorable, but people's attitudes will gradually change.... The political contradiction can only be settled with time.... The reform will not replace dialogue, but it is justified and its implementation will show its efficacy...." It was necessary, he says in substance, to use martial law in order to make change possible and, when people realize that that is the government's intention, confidence will reemerge and it will be possible to establish dialogue and to introduce the self-management which is "decisive for the future of the reform."

That was said with the rather weary and distant conviction of a man who would not like to be regarded as stupid or to seem to regard you as stupid. On the other hand, one of General Jaruzelski's very close aides may put surprising enthusiasm into showing you the lack of understanding which the French press is allegedly showing for "the unbelievable international complexity of the Polish situation. He was obviously worried by that, and explained that 13 December was intended not only to avert European war brought about by Solidarity's political ambitions but also to thwart a German-Soviet rapprochement at Poland's expense. For Poland the main aim was allegedly to be able to defend its territorial integrity while providing itself with the means of winning back its place as the USSR's main ally -- the one which must be heeded and which cannot be passed over. General Jaruzelski is, therefore, allegedly none other than a De Gaulle ("who enjoys great prestige in the General Staff"); and "why," that dignitary asked, "could we not do the same, but in the opposite direction from General De Gaulle, the Catholic and anticommunist who included communists in his government?"

It is an interesting question: in short they are doing one thing while declaring their intention of doing another. Since nothing, not even a dictatorship, is all good or all evil, there are moments of truth in the assertions made to keep up a good image ("any third-rate Czechoslovak journalist was able to feel free to tell us what to do"), and the normalization is continuing according to its own logic.

Mr Siwak, a Politburo member and a "hardliner" with simple ideas, published a violent attack in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on Saturday against the ideologues who allegedly led the part to its doom. The conclusion of that attack was: "Thanks to martial law the party will find enough strength to abandon the cowardly and un-Leninist appeal: 'Neither to the left nor to the right, but straight ahead' and to say courageously in worker fashion: 'full speed ahead!'"

"Neither to the left nor the right..."was a statement made by Mr Kania at the extraordinary party congress in July. Today Mr Kania is not "Leninist." That leaves a few people a small chance of being Leninist.

LE FIGARO COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE SCENARIOS

PM040913 Paris LE FIGARO in French 2 Feb 82 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: Jaruzelski's Narrow Path"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The riots in Gdansk on Saturday confirm, if there was any need for confirmation, that, whatever progress is being made in "normalizing" the country, Poland is still living on a power keg.

As is known, several thousand people -- mainly young secondary school students -- tried to stage a demonstration to Gdansk to mark the day of "solidarity with Solidarity." Their intention was to hand a red carnation to each worker leaving the shipyard and to go in procession to place those flowers at the foot of the monument to the victims of 1980. The intervention of the forces of order prevented that objective from being attained.

Shortly afterwards the demonstration was resumed, this time downtown. The clashes were violent enough for six demonstrators and eight militiamen to be injured. Some 205 people were arrested.

After these incidents, the Gdansk Voivodship authorities took very stringent measures whose firmness can partly be explained by the government's deisre to make an example and deter those who might be tempted to take part in possible demonstrations against the price increases.

The authorities still have grave fears on this subject, especially since the workers at a mechanical engineering factory in Warsaw stopped work Saturday to hold a meeting and demand explanations on the increases and the "compensation."

Hungarian Style

As can be seen, nothing has been settled. December 13, far from being an end, was merely one incident, a dramatic one certainly, in the Polish crisis. The decisive turning-point still lies ahead, and the months of February and March will have to provide the definitive answers.

What scenario is now the most likely? One thing is sure: The only one which might fully satisfy a population which, if there were free elections would give 2 or 3 percent of the votes to the Communist Party, certainly has no chance of coming about for obvious geopolitical reasons. Whatever the outcome, it is therefore inevitable that it will be accompanied by fairly considerable frustration among the population. A second solution, consisting of establishing "partnership" relations between the government and the social forces, stopped being conceivable after 13 December.

In these conditions only two scenarios can still be taken into account.

-- First, the gradual easing of martial law and the establishment of a Hungarian-style reformist socialism.

There is no doubt that this solution is favored by General Jaruzelski and his friends. Thus there would be a move toward a kind of enlightened absolutism.

The state supported by the party has failed. Can it be renewed with the army's support? It is busy passing its first test, that of the price increases without which there can be no question of reform or restoration of order in the economy. But to succeed it will, above all, have to crush the opposition to changes in the bureaucracy and in a section of the party apparatus which are pure products of "negative selection" and of the nomenklatura system.

Only the army is capable of attaining this objective and, paradoxically, of finally lifting those obstacles to all democratization which have been unshakable for 25 years.

But the chances of seeing this solution implemented remain relatively limited. First because the general scarcely has anybody on whom he can rely. The party "hardliners" are attacking him and the majority of the population does not want to listen to anything said by those responsible for martial law. The intellectuals are hostile and the West is cutting off credit. Only the church manages to reconcile its solidarity with the nation and its political sense.

The tragedy of the general and his friends is that by introducing martial law they have, on the one hand, released the fearful demon of dogmatism while, on the other hand, they have sawn off the branch on which they were sitting by depriving themselves of the natural support of moderate elements.

Moreover, this scenario presupposes an improvement in the economic situation, and in this connection there is at present nothing which makes it possible to view the future with optimism.

-- Second, the seizure of control over the party by the "hardliners" and the implementation of a neo-Stalinist policy.

The dogmatists feel that they are sailing before the wind following the introduction of martial law. The statements made by their supporters are frightening: The root of the trouble goes back to 1948, when, after the merger of the two parties, the social democratic poison started to corrupt communist purity.

But the main mistakes date back to October 1956 -- the rehabilitation of the Home Army [internal army dependent on London] maintained the spirit of romantic heroism, and the church's return in increased loyalty to old Poland's reactionary tendencies while the annulment of land collectivization halted structural evolution. You think you are dreaming....

The Hope of the "Hardliner"

An article published in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI Saturday by Mr Siwak shows that that line is still powerful and amounts to no more and no less than criticizing the general's policy without daring to say so. Moreover, for good measure, Mr Siwak does thank the army for "the immense support it has given the party," but suggests that the time has come for it to return to barracks because "the party was and is the guarantor of steering the country out of the crisis and onto the socialist road" and it is in the party and not the army that the solution should be found.

All this indicates that the forthcoming plenum, which should be held around mid-February, will be extremely lively. Should the "hardliners" be successful at that plenum a direct confrontation between the party and the Military Council would be inevitable. But success for the dogmatists would have consequences which the latter, in their blindness, do not seem to glance: with people in their present state of mind an underground Poland would be created and it would then be difficult to avert the bloodiest of civil wars. In that case, the martial law decreed by General Jaruzelski to prevent civil war would in fact merely have accelerated its outbreak.

In any case, as can be seen, the future scenarios for Poland are scarcely encouraging. The choice is between the creation, which is still very difficult, of a Poland remaining socialist and a Warsaw Pact member but gradually modernizing and democratizing its structures under General Jaruzelski's guidance, and the adventure of a virulent and primitive neo-Stalinism which would pave the way for a tragic bloodbath in Poland.

BLUMSZTAJN SAYS POLES SUPPORT U.S. SANCTIONS

PM031645 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 31 Jan 82 p 5

[Undated Joern Mikkelsen Copenhagen interview with former Solidarity Warsaw information office Chief Seweryn Blumsztajn: "The Polish People Support Reagan's Sanctions Against the Soviet Union and Poland"]

[Text] "The Polish people give 100-percent backing to President Reagan's economic boycott of Poland, and all they want is that it be made tougher. That is the only way to topple the military junta. The Poles are ready to pay the terrible price which tightening up such a sanctions policy would entail. Despite everything, the generals cannot turn Poland into a gigantic concentration camp."

This assessment of the Polish people's spirit of self-sacrifice and its fierce opposition to the military regime was put forward by Seweryn Blumsztajn, chief of Solidarity's Warsaw information office until the military takeover in the early hours of 13 December last year, and for many years connected with KOR. He was visiting France when martial law was introduced and he knows that the security forces have orders to arrest him the moment he returns to Polish soil. He is in Copenhagen to take part in Saturday's [30 January] Solidarity demonstration.

Blumsztajn's warm support for the U.S. sanctions policy is matched by his dislike of the more moderate forces seeking compromises in the Poland crisis. Of the subdued West German position he said:

"The military coup in Poland is the best proof that West Germany's ostpolitik has been a total fiasco. It should never have been initiated. It is almost naive to believe that it would be possible to ease conditions in the Eastern bloc through cooperation. Helmut Schmidt should admit this mistake while there is time and give his support to the U.S. line."

Of the present conditions in Poland Blumsztajn said that Solidarity is gradually being reconstructed. Completely new people have appeared and are trying to keep the internal communication lines open. All Poles under 60 are forbidden to travel from one region to another. That is why pensioners are now being used as couriers in underground work. Many are able to draw on experience from their younger days when they took part in the rising against the Nazis in Warsaw in 1944. Without the help of these old people the reconstruction of Solidarity would definitely be much more difficult, Blumsztajn said. And we predicted that there could be terrorist actions from certain impatient elements in Polish society if martial law continues for much longer.

Underground work has now got off tc such a good start that in Warsaw alone 20 different illegal newspapers arebeing published. They call for passive resistance and pass on all the information which the regime tries to keep secret. It is Blumsztajn's estimate that a minimum of 10,000 people are in prison for their opposition to the military regime, while official figures put the number at 5,000. It is also reported that the feared security forces have on several occasions made arrested Solidarity members run the gauntlet between lines of soldiers lashing out with their batons. Such things have chiefly happened in the a reas around Gdansk and Radom, where support for Solidarity was the strongest in the country.

Together with other exile Poles, Seweryn Blumsztajn has set up an information office in Paris, which receives information smuggled out of Poland and passes it on to the Western media. He has no faith in the regime's assurances that there will continue to be a place for an "apolitical" Solidarity in Polish society. He said:

"The authorities make promise after promise, but as long as there are tanks in the streets we cannot take them seriously. You have to remember that communist regimes have always wanted trade unions to represent the employers -- that is, the party -- and not the workers. They call Solidarity "political" because we tried to straighten out the catastrophic situation which is a direct result of the government's incompetence: From the start Solidarity was not intended to be a political movement, but people simply expected that we would do our bit to improve living conditions in Poland. I think it would be impcssible to talk of an 'apolitical' solidarity as long as the communists are in power in the country. The two things cannot be reconciled -- Power versus freedom, you could say."

Blumsztajn and the contacts he still has in Poland are in no doubt that the Soviet Union played a decisive role when the generals seized power in Poland.

"Ever since Solidarity's beginnings in August 1980 the Kremlin has tried to get the regime to suppress it. There was a flood of letters from the Soviet leaders, and finally Jaruzelski was no longer able to resist the pressure. When you know the system and the Soviet Union's power over everything that has happened in Poland since 1945, it is out of the question that the Soviet Union might not have played a decisive role."

Blumsztajn told me that the rosters which were hung everywhere in Poland that Sunday morning with the military regime's martial law proclamation were printed in the Soviet Union and were lying in readiness for the right opportunity. It is his opinion that the danger of a Soviet invasion has increased since the military coup, because opposition among the Polish people has become many times more massive.

"The Poles have never loved the Communist Party, but they absolutely hate the generals. The Soviet Union would not accept open confrontation between the regime and the people -- we have seen this before. The price of keeping out of Poland could also become too great for the leaders in the Kremlin. That's why it's rubbish to say that Jaruzelski acted as a patriot when he introduced martial law in order to avoid something worse. He is just an errand boy, and he will not be able to rule the Poles. We are closer to a Soviet invasion today than we were before 13 December," Blumsztajn said.

Of interned trade union leader Lech Walesa, Blumsztajn was able to report that he is still being held prisoner in a villa outside Warsaw. He shares the same privileged conditions as the interned intellectuals. It is Blumsztajn's impression that the regime has now finally given up trying to get Walesa to cooperate, and it is now doing what it can to discredit him. For example, the regime has fabricated false orders from the Solidarity leadership to the individual sections around the country which give instructions on how to kill political commissars. The whole thing is intended to give the population the impression that Solidarity's only goal was political power, and that an uprising is imminent, Blumsztajn concluded.

LODZ MEETING CONSIDERS ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS

LD032304 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] The cotton industry works "Obroncy Pokoju" held a meeting today under the slogan "Party, Trade Unions, Society" to discuss the place and role of the trade union movement in a socialist society. In addition to Mieczyslaw Krajewski, the plenipotentiary of the party Central Committee, party activists and trade union activists from Lodz Voivodship representing the biggest work enterprises in the voivodship including [words indistinct] attended the meeting.

The participants at the meeting stated that although the social and welfare commissions which are created and are active through the initiative of the party in many factories and millieus are effectively dealing with matters which were dealt with by the trade unions before the suspension of their activity, one should not give up on the idea of restoring the trade unions. For the benefit of all the employees and the whole society the trade unions should once again take up the issues of welfare, organization of paid leave and children's holidays, and matters of culture and education at work enterprises. However, mistakes committed in the past work of trade union activists should not reoccur.

There must be no return to the political ambitions of activists and to the slogans and actions which are hostile to the political system and which have nothing to do with the real tasks of trade unions. Trade unions must try to represent in the best and fullest way the interests of their members. They should also assist the state in the implementation of the socialist principles of its social policy.

I noted that the following remark was uttered at the "Obroncy Pokoju" factory: We must become universally aware of the principle of agreement on aims, tasks and duties of the state as the representative of the collective will of the society, the party as its political representative and the trade unions as the representative but also complementer of the aims of the social policy of the state.

PRIMATE GLEMP BEGINS VATICAN VISIT 4 FEB

NC041049 Paris AFP in English 1035 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Rome, 4 Feb (AFP) -- The Roman Catholic primate of Poland, Monsignor Jozef Glemp, arrived here today for his first visit to the Vatican since martial law was clamped on Poland on December 13.

He was accompanied by Franciszek Cardinal Macharski, archbishop of Cracow, and Monsignor Henrik Gulbinowicz, bishop of Wroclaw. They were met by Vatican representatives and declined to speak to the press.

The Vatican has not said how long their "Polish summit" will last, but on February 12 Polish-born Pope John Paul II leaves on his second tour of Africa.

Monsignor Glemp's last visit to Rome was in early November, when he invited the pope to pay his second visit to his native country since taking office.

WESOLY'S PASTORAL LETTER TO EXPATRIATE POLES

LD292142 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1515 GMT 29 Jan 82

["Full Text" of pastoral letter to expatriate Poles, written by Bishop Szczepan Wesoly, the primate of Poland's delegate for the pastoral care of expatriate Poles, entitled: "At the Fatherland's tragic moments"]

[Text] Reverend fathers, beloved in Christ the Lord:

For over a month martial law has been in effect in Poland. Although the interest in our fatherland continues to be very vital, however, we are slowly beginning to accustom ourselves to the existence of an abnormal situation. Nevertheless, we are not permitted to get used to such an event, so humiliating for the nation, especially since martial law is still continuing. A state of emergency is proclaimed in the presence of an enemy, in a hostile country. Does proclaiming it in one's fatherland mean that the citizens are the enemies of the state, enemies or even criminals in their own fatherland? If the descriptions of events that get through to us correspond to the truth, then in truth all citizens are being treated as enemies. New humiliations and torments have been added to those connected with material shortages, the deprivation of civic liberties, the restriction or deprivation of liberty, the exertion of moral pressure, removal from work for belonging to unions, restriction of mutual consultation, of communication, of movement, and such.

Our nation is in need of material aid. We see how almost the whole world speeds to it with touching selflessness, with a solidarity that astonishes us all. As Poles, we incur debts of gratitude to many nations and to thousands of nameless, selfless people.

Once again Christian charity has proved itself the true link unifying all people. Our nation is also in need of spiritual aid. This is accomplished through community in prayer. The moment the news about the events arrived, prayer vigils and services in supplication were organized spontaneously in almost all countries, speeding to bring the necessary material and spiritual aid.

We must not forget the true causes and tragic consequences of martial law. When the holy father visited our fatherland as a pilgrim in 1979, he said straight away on the first day in his first sermon in Victory Square in Warsaw: I knelt by this tomb of the unknown soldier, together with the primate in order to pay homage to every seed which on falling to the earth and dying within it bears fruit, whether it be the seed of a soldier's blood shed on the battlefield or the martyr's sacrifice in camps and in prison; or whether it be the seed of hard daily work, the sweat of one's brow, on the soil, at one's workbench, in the mine, in the foundry and factory; or whether it be the seed of parental love which does not hesitate to give life to a new person and undertakes the whole labor of bringing him up; or whether it be the seed of creative work in colleges, in institutes, in libraries, at the workbenches of the national culture; or whether it be the seed of prayer and service alongside the sick, the suffering, the abandoned, or whether it be the seed of suffering itself on hospital beds in clinics, sanatoriums, in homes -- all this makes up Poland. All this is in the hands of the mother of God. Below the cross of Calvary, or in the room of the Last Supper, at Pentecost. I embrace this in this eucharist with thought and heart and include in this the one and only, sole most holy sacrifice by Christ on Victory Square.

And I, a son of the Polish soil, and at the same time I, John Paul, II, pope, call from the very depths of this millenium [1,000 years of Christiantiy in Poland], I call on the day before Pentecost, I call together with all of you: May the spirit descend upon you, may the spirit enter your soul and renew the face of this earth. The seed fell on the right ground. It slowly put down roots until it sprouted in the events of August. The face of our soil began to renew itself in all manifestations of the national, social, professional, cultural and family life. The renewal also occurred through the feeling of mutual solidarity between all the chidren of a single fatherland. It was said: Let us begin to put our house in order; the house of work, of culture, of social responsibility, so that we will be able to live better with an awareness of our human and national dignity, conscious of our dignity as children of God.

The putting of our house in order also expressed itself in the dialogue that was embarked upon. It was conducted on the basis of ethical assumptions which expressed themselves in respect for the partners in the dialogue and also in the understanding that one has to build on truth, not on mendacity. At times, that dialogue developed recalcitrantly, but so long as it was being conducted there was always the possibility that solutions would be found, even to very difficult problems. The proclamation of martial law broke off the dialogue, broke off the aspiration to arrive at solutions through mutual understanding and respect between the partners. Violence and force came along with martial law. In bringing about such a state, an enormous moral wrong was done the nation, treating it in the eyes of the whole world as an enemy on the soil of its own fatherland. Speaking in the church of the mother of God the merciful in Warsaw, the primate stated: Martial law is a state of new and harsh laws which suspend the previous civic liberties.

The authorities fundamentally cease to be authorities in dialogue with citizens and become authorities equipped with the means of summary coercion demanding obedience. Opposing the decisions of the authorities under martial law may evoke a violent enforcement of obedience, up to and including bloodshed, since the authorities have armed force at their disposal. Unfortunately blood was shed. The Polish worker and the Polish miner died because of bullets fired by his brother who differed from him only in wearing a uniform. Blood was shed through bullets, but blood was also shed when, brutally and cruelly, the uniformed brother tormented his brother merely because the beaten man held another view and a different conviction. Once again, unfortunately, the words of the holy father came true: that the rights of man can so easily be trampled on and destroyed by man. One need only dress him up in another uniform, the holy father said at Auschwitz; one need only equip him with the apparatus of violence, with the means of destruction; one need only impose upon him an ideology according to which the rights of man are subjugated to the requirements of a system, ruthlessly subjugated, so that in essence they do not exist. Violence is always an expression of hatred. However, one cannot build the future on violence and hatred, for hate gives birth to hate. Only love is lasting, for it addresses itself to understanding one's neighbor. It is service to one's neighbor.

The movement of renewal in the fatherland, of which Solidarity became an expression, came into being in the very service of man. It called for respect for man's dignity through the freedom to express opinions and information, for respect for man's work through joint responsibility for its programming and execution. Man has the right to respect for his personality, and he is obliged to defend that dignity when it is threatened.

Working people, the pope said, have the right to create independent unions whose task is to guard their social, family and individual rights. This does not mean that one should be uncritical with regard to Solidarity. In the general fervor of making up quickly for what was neglected for many years in putting our house in order, it was easy to exaggerate something or to commit errors. However, being aware of possible errors, the pope said, Solidarity belongs to the contemporary legacy of working people in our homeland. All that Solidarity represents is thus a permanent legacy. Renewal was connected with arduous effort and sacrifices.

It is they that made this movement a permanent part of the treasury of social culture and thus of the history of our nation. This heritage cannot be removed by force because it is a spiritual heritage. Unfortunately, today attempts are being made in the homeland to break this spirit by means of force. The primate said that the demands that declarations of various content be signed, and particularly of quitting Solidarity, encompass increasingly greater circles of employees and, in the case of refusal, cause dismissals. The forcing out of such statements is unethical. Referring to the primate's statement to pilgrims assembled at St Peter's Square, the holy father said: The breaking of one's coscience is a terrible harm done to man. It is the most painful blow at human dignity. It is to some extent worse than killing. Do not fear those who kill flesh, Christ said, pointing out that the killing of the human spirit and conscience is a much greater evil.

The principle of respect for one's conscience constitutes the fundamental right of man, guaranteed by constitutions and international agreements.

I raise my voice to the lord, together with all men of good will, for the Polish consciences not to be killed.

The holy father urges all men of good will; all the more, we Poles living outside the country must heed the Pope's appeal and talk about the moral and ethical injury inflicted on the nation, through attempts at the deprivation of man. Assurances about the continuation of the renewal are just empty words if, at the same time, attempts are made to break man morally through the introduction yet again of deceit in personal and social life.

In the history of our nation attempts have often been made to oppress the spirit by force and to break the moral backbone of the nation. The church too has been subjected to such pressures. These events are too much alive to have to recall them in detail. Anyway, the history of the beginning of Christianity tells us how attempts were made to liquidate through physical persecution the issue of Jesus and his disciples. Christ is alive and the church is alive. The nation too is alive despite the 100 years of enslavement, because it is not possible to manacle the spirit. The events in the country have many facets. They have their political, economic and social dimension. At the same time, they also have their moral and ethical dimension.

We must talk about the injury inflicted upon families and individual persons through arrests, brutal treatment, beating up of innocent persons, through the shedding of blood in fratricidal clashes. All this must be borne in mind. However, this cannot lead us believers to take revenge. We must remember that God is love and we, who through faith partake in God's love, must also be guided by the principles of love.

The road of renewal can only be based on mutual respect and love, for only these are the guarantees of justice. We cannot permit splits in the homeland even though there be attempts at provocations toward taking up such a position. Splits and divisions do not promote renewal. They divide the nation and make constructive cooperation impossible. During the Christmas Eve meeting of the holy father with Poles, the pope said: Our wishes, which are most profound and most closely rooted in the soil of the homeland, become a prayer that we should cope, that we should cope by ourselves; that the forces of good within us should overcome the forces of evil; that the forces of justice, of respect for man, of love for the homeland should outweigh those counterforces of hate and destruction, physical destruction and moral destruction.

Next, it is a prayer that we may ourselves be able to be the authors, the creators of our own fates; that we should not be distrubed in this [word indistinct]; that this should not be imposed on us from outside. We send this sincere, fervent and incessant prayer through the intermediary of Mary the queen, who has been given to us and our nation as a help and defense.

Together with the holy father, we ask our Lady of Jasna Gora Through you and in your presence, we all meet, even when we are separated by distances, frontiers, the walls of camps or prisons. It has often been so throughout history. It has also often been proven and confirmed that in your presence, our mother and queen, we are mutually present. And so, in this the year of the 600th anniversary and of our jubilee, it is fitting that we again experience this, in the homeland. In the name of the son of that same land who is bishop in Rome, as the first gift of the 600th anniversary we offer you this experience.

We join in prayer with the holy father. This link will be best expressed by us when, after holy mass, particularly on Sunday, we will all together say the Marian prayer entrusting us to you. This prayer was said by our fathers at moments of particularly great difficulties. We shall ask the Holy Mary, the queen of Poland, to give spiritual strength to those who are experiencing the use of physical and moral force, the strength to ensure it. We shall pray for God to show mercy for our nation which is so exhausted. In particular, we shall ask the holy Mary, the betrothed of the Holy Spirit, for what the holy father asked when he was standing under the cross on Victory Square: Let your spirit descend and renew the face of the earth, of this earth.

Rome, 16 January 1982: Signed by Bishop Stefan Wesoly.

PARIS DAILIES VIEW CHURCH-STATE RELATIONSHIP

Church's Irreplaceable Role

PM260827 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 Jan 82 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: The Church's Irreplaceable Role"]

[Text] Warsaw -- The Polish Episcopate published a communique yesterday announcing that the bishop's conference which met Tuesday drafted two documents: a pastoral letter to the faithful and a message to the premier. The content of these documents has not yet been revealed as I write this. In any case it has been confirmed that the Polish church is playing a leading role in the present crisis and that its attitude, a mixture of dignity and moderation, constitutes one of the country's best chances of overcoming the crisis.

Indeed as a prominent figure close to the Episcopate told me, the Polish bishops are facing a twofold necessity: "not to cut themselves off from the population and hence to show that they are still refusing to accept the unacceptable, but at the same time, to act in a flexible way in order to do nothing which might make General Jaruzelski's task more difficult because, despite everything, he represents the centrist line which is strongly threatened by the activity of party extremists."

That is why the Episcopate was forced to accept the text of a joint communique published Tuesday after the joint church-state commission meeting, which states that the two sides "agreed that it is necessary to seek ways of achieving a political solution aimed at real and lasting accord and national reconciliation." That is obviously extremely important because it means that, despite what happened 13 December, the church still believes that accord is possible and believes it is possible to revive the renewal. Indeed the two sides "expressed the common view that cooperation between the state and the church is at present an important factor in speeding up the lifting of martial law."

Sharing the Suffering

Moreover the church has supported the government in condemning the sanctions taken by Western governments -- sanctions "which mean that it is considerably more difficult to overcome the crisis and which curb the return to full realization of the renewal process in the spirit of the social agreements."

Moreover the joint communique confirms that General Jaruzelski will announce measures aimed at alleviating martial law when speaking to the Sejm next Monday.

Nonetheless the church certainly has no intention of giving way on such politically and morally important questions as those of the release of internees or the "checks." As for this second point it should be noted that the government has just stressed that actions which undermine human dignity "are not part of the authorities' intentions." I have learned that the "checks" which began in some institutions which are not dependent on central government suddently stopped last Friday. Moreover circles close to the government maintain that they were the work of extremists "trying too hard."

However the church's reasonable attitude is being criticized by some of the faithful, who regard the primate's stances as too moderate. The Episcopate is aware of this and an effort will therefore be made in the pastoral letter to show that the church shares the population's suffering and is continuing its unshakable fight to defend human and civil rights.

One of the primate's main advisers, who does not wish to be named, explained to me the seven-point program which he upholds. According to him it is necessary to aim for: 1 -- a declaration of intent from General Jaruzelski, specifying his intention to pursue the renewal and the implementation of reforms and fixing a timetable; 2 -- the release of detainees over a 4-week period, the church guaranteeing the moderation of some of them after their release; 3 -- the ending of the "checks" or at least their limitation to the central state administration (ministries); 4 -- the lifting of martial law which would be replaced by emergency measures whose application would gradually be eased or, if martial law has to be maintained, it should remain in the form of a sword of Damocles but gradually lose its repressive nature; 5 -- the revival of a Solidarity which is strictly working class and trade union, but, symbolically, with Lech Walesa at its head; 6 -- the formation of a government expanded to include prominent respected independent figures; 7 -- fixing a date for democratic and apolitical local elections (the primate's adviser added at this point that the implementation of territorial self-management would have a great effect on the population but would in no way weaken central government. He even explained humorously that that had been Bismarck's attitude, succeeding in reconciling a strong government and decentralization....).

The Polish church is therefore once again the only force in the country which is showing that it is capable of reconciling moral integrity and a sense of political reality. That is certainly not easy and is prompting the fury of extremists on both sides. Nonetheless if Poland emerges from the tragedy it will owe it largely to the church.

Bishops' Aim; Loyalty Oath

PM191223 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Jan 82 p 3

[Bernard Guetta dispatch: "It Is Not Enough to Frighten People: You Have To Talk to Them, Monsignor Glemp Says"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw -- The episcopate and the government were to have a high-level meeting this Monday 18 January, in the afternoon -- the first meeting of the joint church-state council since martial law was introduced. The holding of this meeting less than 10 days after the talks between the primate and General Jaruzelski shows the common interest of the bishops and the authorities in not breaking off contacts despite their strained relations.

By continuing these discussions the bishops still hope to secure the gestures to ease tensions without which, they believe, the spiral of violence will be fatal. The leadership, for its part, hopes that this will disguise the extent of its political isolation, especially in the eyes of Western opinion.

The most spectacular of these gestures to ease tension (and the one which would cost the military least) would obviously be Mr Walesa's release. It is the possibility of that release, vigorously demanded by the church, which was to dominate the joint commission meeting jointly chaired by Cardinal Macharski, archbishop of Krakow, and Mr Barcikowski, a Politburo member and more especially a prominent figure in the "directoire" placed at the head of the country.

The 11th issue of the Warsaw Solidarity organization's clandestine pamphlet is beginning to circulate secretly. It contains an appeal by the chairmen and deputy chairman of the organization, Mr Bujak and Mr Kulerski and Ursus trade union official Mr Janas. The three men, who have been in hiding since 13 December, spell out 12 recommendations for ensuring that solidarity remains present in "the enterprise, the street, the lines and apartment blocks. People should, among other things, return their party cards if they have not already done so and not say: 'If I do not do the job, somebody worse will do it instead'; continue to ostracize 'collaborators' and create Solidarity groups" with neighbors and work colleagues.

Citing Marshal Pilsudski ("being defeated but not submitting is already a victory"), the three men write: "Take care: Some people have already stopped feeling free. Think carefully: Have you disarmed? Are you afraid to report aloud what you hear on Radio Free Europe? Do you quicken your pace when papers are being checked in the street...? Are you afraid of asking what has become of an internee or a sacked colleague? Remember that fear is the junta's most powerful ally. Remember that the junta brought the occupier into our homeland and that cooperation with the occupier is collaboration...."

The anniversary of Warsaw's liberation was celebrated on Sunday by a military parade with a fanfare on the square where the war memorial is located. There was a fairly large and happy crowd which loudly applauded the military.

Declarations of Loyalty

The declarations of lyalty which the primate has just condemned once again consist in requiring civil servants to renounce their membership of Solidarity, on pain of being sacked. This "violation of consciences," as the church describes it, is not only being organized against employees of the state administration. Legal staff are also subject to it, as are journalists, whose work contracts are confirmed only after "interviews" during which those not eliminated from the outset have to express their agreement with the proclamation of martial law. Mr Urban, the government spokesman and himself a former journalist, was thus able to tell the foreign press jokingly recently that the situation of his former colleagues "varies; some are overworked and others are enjoying surprise vacations."

This practice, whose precise scope is so far impossible to assesss, but which seems widespread, has its legal basis in a circular issued by General Jaruzelski, a senior official of the Council of Ministers, dated 17 December. This document, copies of which are starting to circulate, states in particular: "Membership of the Solidarity trade union by some civil servants does not guarantee attainment of the goals (of martial law -- LE MONDE note). ...in keeping with the instructions of the Council of Ministers Chairman (General Jaruzelski -- LE MONDE note), I ask you to hold special conversations with employees belonging to Solidarity over the next 2 or 3 days.... If they want to continue working in state administration they will have to leave that trade union. If they refuse, their contract must immediately be terminated, while respecting the terms of labor legislation...."

On 28 December the primate sent General Jaruzelski a long letter, the text of which is also beginning to be known, asking him to revoke these measures and the sackings they caused. Monsignor Glemp pointed out in particular that these measures are "discriminatory" because they are founded on "the idea that any member of Solidarity is an enemy of order" (which is) "a fundamental mistake," and that their only result will be to remove civil servants who have "civic courage" and, hence, to develop bureaucratic passivity.

"I do not want to invoke the attack which this circular makes on human rights and dignity," the primate wrote, "but I would like to draw your attention to the unfavorable atmosphere it is creating for the pursuit of the renewal after martial law is lifted."

GDANSK MEETINGS DICUSSS 30 JAN DISTURBANCES

'Indignation' Expressed

LD031256 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia [no dateline received] -- Following the incidents of last Saturday, party artiv meetings were held in all the towns, parishes and work enterprises of Gdansk Voivodship. The participants expressed their indignation regarding the instigators of the events of 30 January, and then discussed the current sociopolitical situation in Gdansk voivodship.

Bejgner on Restrictions

LD032146 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2056 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting of the workers' propaganda aktiv has been held in Gdansk, attended by the Voivodship Party Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger. He explained to numerous representatives from work enterprises of the coast the background and course of Saturday's street incidents in Gdansk. He stressed the need for extended restrictions in the voivodship, and said that the restrictions that have been introduced are of a temporary nature -- they will remain until complete normalization occurs in the city.

In Gdansk voivodship for the past 3 days, numerous meetings of basic party organizations have been held devoted to Saturday's events and those taking part have expressed their anger with the initiators of Saturday's incidents.

More on Meetings

LD040032 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] In connection with the street incidents which took place in Gdansk on 30 January, meetings of the party aktivs and gatherings of primary party organizations have been taking place over the past 3 days in the towns, parishes and factories of Gdansk Voivodship.

The situation in the voivodship following the incidents in Gdansk were discussed. Those taking part in these meetings expressed their condemnation of the instigators of the Gdansk events. They demanded that they be given harsh punishments and that the duty of people to work be implemented with respect to everyone. It was also pointed out that the burden of the restrictions introduced as a result of the irresponsibility of the troublemakers is falling onto the shoulders of the Gdansk public.

While taking part in a meeting with a workers' aktiv, Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship Party Committee, explained the background and course of the incidents which took place on Saturday. he stressed that intensified restrictions of the martial law that is in force should be imposed in this situation. These restrictions are in force temporarily until the complete normalization of the situation in the town.

The number of crimes committed in the voivodship continues to be large. More than 400 were registered in January. Three hundred gangs comprising several criminals have been exposed. These gangs mainly comprise young people and those out of work.

A lot of time during the meeting was taken up by economic matters connected with the reform. It was stressed that at the present time, while the activities of the trade unions are suspended, social commissions which are coming into being in factories should play the role of initiator in many matters.

BARCIKOWSKI ADDRESSES POZNAN PZPR AKTIVS

AU031654 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, at the Poznan PZPR Aktivs meeting on 29 January]

[Text] Over 900 political and economic activists of the Poznan Voivodship took part on 29 January in a meeting with Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary.

Participants in this meeting listened carefully to his speech, in which he appraised the situation in the country and the party, referring to the main issue of the day: the results brought by martial law up to now. The following facts belong in the series of positive phenomena and achievements after 13 December:

The introduction of order and an increase in the security of citizens and the party; a clearly-felt improvement in production figures in an important area of the national economy -- in the extraction of coal, sulphur, ore and even copper, though not without difficulty, the rebuilding of the party and the increase in the efficiency of state authorities and the economic administration, and the better fulfillment of their statutory duties.

In this situation the most important thing is consolidating all patriotic forces in the work of strengthening the country.

Defining Western governments' intention toward Poland, Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski said that the sanctions toward Poland are aimed at strengthening political opposition in Poland and setting it on the road to strife; and the strife could have spread to other socialist countries, and this was looked forward to -- in a word it is a question of sowing unrest among the socialist countries. This is a calculated attempt to transform Poland and Poles into a tool of U.S. imperialist politics. It is an attempt to return to the situation in Poland in the forties when there was internal war -- and we must never forget that only Poles paid for this activity and Poland suffered. So with all our strength we must warn those groups who could have been subject to destructive activity, if only in the form of propaganda leaflet campaigns. We will be obliged to deal with any such attempt and its authors with all the might of the law -- on account of the primary interest of Poland and Poles.

CZYREK SPEECHES ON FOREIGN, DOMESTIC ISSUES

To Rzeszow Party Aktivs

AU031640 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Jozef Cyzrek, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee Secretary and minister of foreign affairs, at the Rzeszow party aktivs conference on 28 January]

[Text] Problems of the current political and economic situation in Poland, the Party's role in shaping our future and the international state of affairs were the dominant topics of talks on 28 January between Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee secretary and minister of foreign affairs, and the party economic aktivs of Rzeszow Voivodship.

Many tasks in the program, J. Czyrek reminded those present, are contained in Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski's last speech in the Sejm. Right now we have to practically introduce them into the activity of every party organization, winning over the entire community. It is necessary to recognize that concentrating party and patriotic social forces in ensuring order is the most important task at present. The community must be united. This is already finding expression in the establishment of citizens' committees for national salvation.

The rebirth of the PZPR is an equally important matter, Czyrek said. It has to be a party which has learned its history lessons, a party faithful to the workers' tradition and serving its class and the community. It must be a refined party, united ideologically and rejecting dogmztism. We must give life to the aktivs, as we have already begun to do.

In the economic sphere, Comrade Czyrek said, matters concerning agriculture and feeding the country are becoming the key subjects, as well as matters concerning how to get our exports going so that we can be assured of foreign currency to pay not only our debts but also to pay for the import of raw materials and other goods essential for production. This is all the more important because of the current economic sanctions by the United States toward Poland, and the propaganda aggression which meddles in our internal affairs. These things are forcing us to defend ourselves actively, to find ways out by means of exploiting our own raw materials and technology which lowers the amount of materials used in production. We must emerge from this crisis richer, refined, counting only on our own strength, aware also of the support of our brotherly socialist countries, to whom our request for help has already met with a positive response and will certainly continue to do so. The Americans deliberately decided to break the economic ties between East and West, although not all their partners conformed to this pressure. The structure of forces in the world, the interests of European security and the relations between Third World countries and our country allow us a certain amount of optimism when appraising our present and future situation, Czyrek said.

Safeguarding our national interests on the international scene will depend to a large extent on Poland's economic stabilization.

To Youth Union Meeting

LD292366 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Text] Josef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, addressed activists at a meeting of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth ZSMP] who are in charge of foreign relations. He mentioned, among other things, the propaganda campaign directed at our country and initiated by the United States and, under its influence, by certain European countries. He stressed the fact that the situation in Poland is treated as one of prime significance in the American game against the Soviet Union and socialist countries. Jozef Czyrek answered many questions which concerned, among other things, international issues and the direction of our country's foreign policy. The minister stressed the role of the young generation in extricating Poland from the crisis and the most important tasks of the youth organization in the implementation of the principles of foreign policy.

RADIO-TV CHIEF LORANC MEETS LODZ'S CZECHOWICZ

LD291642 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Text] Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the Polish Radio and Television Committee, has been visiting Lodz. In Lodz, he has met with Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, and visited the television center and the Polish radio broadcasting station.

JERZY ROMANIK ATTENDS ZABRZE COAL MINE MEETING

LD012224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 1 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting was held in Zabrze coal mines today between the party aktiv and Jerzy Romanik, Politburo member and miner from Siemianowice colliery. Many issues were discussed concerning work in the coal mine, party activity, and the situation in the country. Jerzy Romanik replied to questions, including those concerning the export of Polish coal, the supply of basic goods and spare parts for work forces, and the new miners' charter which was introduced today.

More on Romanik Remarks

LD012226 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 1 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting of Zabrze coal mine's party and economic aktiv in which Jerzy Romanik, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo took part, was held today. Taking the floor during the meeting, he stated, among other things, that the party aktiv must feel responsible for what is going on in the workplace. However, it was necessary to clearly define the scope of powers and, what follows from this, concrete responsibility of the party organization, of the workplace's administration and, in the future, of trade unions too, Jerzy Romanik stated.

MESSNER, PIOTROWSKI AT KATOWICE MINERS' MEETING

LD302214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Jan 82

[Katowice correspondent's report]

[Text] January ended with very good results in the mining industry. Hard coal extraction exceeds, according to initial calculations, 15 million tons. Miners are doing everything to maintain this high level of production, and this creates the hope that coal will thus guarantee the continuity of work in domestic industry and will ensure an increased inflow of foreign currency.

These two issues were the subject at today's meeting of the leading aktiv of the hard-coal mines in Katowice. Also taking part were military commissars, and the meeting was attended by Zbigniew Messner, Politburo member and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Party Committee, and was chaired by General Czeslaw Piotrowski, National Council of Salvation member, minister of mining and power.

The work of miners was recognized, but there was a warning during the meeting against excessive optimism. It was pointed out that the level of extraction depends not on the miners alone, but on all coal industry workers. Unfortunately, there are a great number of problems with supplying collieries with materials and technical means. During the meeting there was also discussion of current undertakings to improve living conditions of miners and their families.

ORZECHOWSKI MEETS YOUTH UNION ACTIVISTS

LD032046 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting between Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the party Central Committee, and the ideological activists of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP], has been held in Jachranka near Warsaw. Marian Orzechowski pointed out the sociopolitical factors on which the continuing crisis is dependent and described the sources of tensions and conflicts last year. He went on to say that antisocialism forces still represented an actual threat. A struggle for the hearts and minds of people continues and will continue.

ORZECHOSWKI INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT TASKS

LD290036 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Krzysztof Rogozinski interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary in Torun, 28 January -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] On the initiative of the Ideological Department of the Torun Voivodship Party Committee Prof Marian Orzechoswki, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met with representatives of scientific, educational and cultural milieus. In view of the fact that Comrade Orzechowski has been attending many local meetings lately, I asked him to reflect on what is new in the intellectual sphere, to attempt to name what is changing after 13 December in the consciousness of social milieus.

[Answer] Today it is deeds that count above all. I notice here a certain return, certain phenomena which reveal the shaping of such a positive attitude toward work. For instance in workers organizations people reflect how these great words, these great slogans of the ninth congress program translate into the existence of actual factory. What can we do today and tomorrow, for instance, to streamline production in order to produce more and better?

Opposing positive thinking is always romanticism. Among other things, this contention formed the basis of a debate, which shows that there is after all a great demand for ideas, for something bigger: that fate, those things that hurt us, something we need in fact already today. [as heard]

This is true, but in Poland there have always been many more ideas which emerged in our country with ease in the form of vast panoramas, vast prospects, great slogans as well as rousing programs. The execution, the implementation was not so good. It all disintegrated in that Polish inability. Right now we have a clash between these two currents, the romantic and the positive one. This is not fire and water. In my opinion this a natural supplement. Romanticism can see [a vision] and romanticism consists of the fact that we believe in order to be able to realize this vision. At the time, too, positive thinking [can] arrive at that vision.

[Question] The two basic matters discussed today concerned in what way and with what will we come out of the martial law in which we still remain. In the second place, what will the party be like?

[Answer] It seems to me that the consequences of the universal comprehension of two terms -- democratic centralism and revisionism, about which very little is being said -- will be very essential in both questions. Neither term has emerged today. The dialectics are still binding for us. [words indistinct]

[Interviewer] This is indeed an important issue but I will refer here to a Hungarian saying and Hungarian experience which says that if the party wants to be a Marist-Leninist party it must speak in one language. This was put better still at a meeting by workers from the Gdansk shipyard who said: the party styles can be quite varied but the orthography must be uniform.

STANISLAW OPALKO ATTENDS MEETINGS IN TARNOW

Women's Aktiv Meeting

LD290006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Text] The social female aktiv of Tarnow Voivodship took place today in Tarnow.

Stanislaw Opalko, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the voivodship PZPR committee, took part in the deliberations, the main aim of which was to decide on a program of action for women's organizations under the conditions of martial law. A resolution supporting the activity of the Military Council of National Salvation was adopted. Declaring support for the implementation of the council's program of renewal and national conciliation, the resolution appealed to and urged the women of the region to work effectively, take an active social position, to be cautious and to act for order and social discipline.

Youth Union Meeting

LD032150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] A meeting between Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Tarnow Voivodship Party Committee, and the workers' aktiv of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] from the largest work enterprises in Tarnow Voivodship, was devoted to problems of ZSMP work and the life of youth in the current socioeconomic situation in the country. The Tarnow meeting launched the work of the Council of Working Youth of the Voivodship Board of the ZSMP.

SIWAK MEETS WITH SPORTS ACTIVISTS IN WARSAW

LD032010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Politburo members Albin Siwak met today with sportsmen, coaches, and activists of the largest Polish sport club in Warsaw. The meeting discussed youth physical fitness at length and the fact that in sports administration there are still too many people who have no proper professional qualifications. Albin Siwak said that the Central Committee fully appreciates the importance of sports in the upbringing of youth.

ZOFIA GRZYB ATTENDS RADOM ANNIVERSARY MEETING

LD290012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Excerpt] A popular-scientific conference took place today in Radom marking the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement and 40th anniversary of the birth of the Polish Workers' Party. Veterans of the workers' movement, activists of the Polish Workers' Party and of the PZPR as well as history teachers from secondary schools took part in the conference. Essays on the significance of the workers' movement in the Radom and Kielce regions were delivered by academics and party activists, including Professor (Bogdan Hilderbrand) from the Higher School of Social Sciences. During the meeting in which Zofia Grzyb, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, participated, many meritorious activists of the workers' movement received high state awards, memorial medals and letters of congratulation.

MESSNER ATTENDS KATOWICE LIBERATION CEREMONY

LD271814 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] Thirty-seven years ago the Katowice and upper Silesian industrial region was liberated. Today, on the anniversary of this event, a ceremony took place in Katowice.

In the voivodship office prizes were presented to eminent representatives of science, culture, education and industry. They were presented inter alia by Prof Zbigniew Messner, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Katowice Voivodship Committee, and Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski, the Katowice voivoda.

The laureates included the painter Olgierd [name indistinct], the cofounder of the Slask Elwira Kaminska Emsemble, the violinist (Aurelij Blaszczuk), economics academy Professor Jerzy Rokita and architects Jerzy Andrzej Czyzewski, Maj Jerzy Jaworski and Stanislaw Duszkiewicz.

At noon, tribute was paid to the liberators of the Silesian land at a ceremony held at the monument of the Polish Soldier in Katowice. (?Afterward) flowers were laid at the cemetery of Soviet soldiers and beneath the monument of gratitude to the Soviet Army in Katowice.

JABLONSKI, OTHERS MEETS MUSICAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

LD221826 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] At the Belweder Palace Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, has received men of musical creativity and musical activists who are members of the committee staging events to mark Karol Szymanowski Year. With them was Wladyslaw Loranc, chairman of the committee.

The chairman of the Council of State was informed about the work of the committee. Numerous creative milieux and many cultural institutions in Poland and abroad are making their contribution to the events marking the anniversary. The upshot of this will be concerts, opera and ballet performances, as well as exhibitions, films and symposiums dealing with the event. Taking part in the meeting were: Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo, Prof Kazimierz Secomski, deputy chairman of the Council of State; Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski; and Jozef Teuchma, minister of culture and art.

Today's concert, performed by the orchestra and choir of the National Philharmonia conducted by Witold Rowicki, will be the concert which inaugurates the festivities marking the Year of Karol Szymanowski.

Attend Festive Concert

LD222338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Excerpt] A festive concert by the Warsaw Philharmonic today inaugurated the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Karol Szymanowski. The concert was attended by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State; Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee; Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee; Albert Beszterda, member of the SD Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee; and Jozef Tejchma, minister of culture and arts.

JAN GLOWCZYK DISCUSSES ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

AU271716 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Jan 82 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Economic Education"]

[Text] On 21 January, Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Politburo candidate member and chief editor of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE [ECONOMIC LIFE], met in the PZPR Central Committee with Central Committee lecturers and discussed with them the current lines of economic education in party propaganda.

He described the results of martial law in the national economy and, drawing particular attention to the external conditions of economic development, discussed the effects of the economic restrictions applied against our country by some capitalist countries under the pressure of the United States. Against that background he presented the current state of our economic relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries and stressed the great importance of these relations for our economy.

He drew attention to the fact that the fraternal socialist countries understand our difficulties and favorably react to them, which helps us ease the current supply difficulties and ensure normal work in many production plants.

Further, J. Glowczyk discussed the process of implementing the economic reform under martial law and stressed that the implementation of the principles of the reform had been neither suspended nor checked by martial law. An extensive range of crucial economic and organizational changes is being implemented, he said, and it is therefore unnecessary to return to the process of implementing the reform because this process is being implemented. [as published] However, we should expect that the completion of the principles of the reform will take more time.

Discussing the price reform, J. Glowczyk stressed in particular that the free prices on industrial articles must not be arbitrary prices and that it is necessary to establish effective social and administrative control over the development of free prices.

After his speech, J. Glowczyk replied to questions from the floor. Walery Namiotkiewicz, head of the Central Committee Ideological Department, was in the chair.

CZECHOWICZ CHAIRS PZPR YOUTH COMMISSION MEETING

LD290014 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Text] In Warsaw there was a further session of the Youth Commission of the party Central Committee. Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Lodz Voivodship Party Committee, chaired the session.

Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Central Committee Sociovocational Department, presented information concerning current problems of the youth movement. He stated that the aktiv of the socialist youth unions have adopted an understanding stance vis-a-vis the decisions of the Military Council of National Salvation and that this is expressed in the decrees and statements of the Central Council of the Polish Scout Union, the Presidium of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish youth and of the leading body of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union]. The intense activities of the members of the youth organizations regarding solving various problems are daily becoming more apparent, as are their activities in recent weeks regarding their multifaceted assistance for the flood victims. The tasks of the youth unions should be especially connected with strengthening the political unity of the youth organizations, with restoring their functions in upbringing and ideology, and with involving young people in the implementation of social and economic reforms.

KUBIAK CHAIRS PZPR CULTURAL COMMISSION SESSION

LD290226 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2135 GMT 28 Jan 82

[Text] Professor Hieronim Kubiak, member of the PZPR Poliburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, chaired a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Cultural Commission. During the meeting, the political situation in cultural milieus was assessed and the controversial phenomena which have recently appeared were analyzed. The meetings's participants were also briefed on the basic draft decisions in the cultural area prepared by the ministry. The draft decisions relate to ways of activating cultural centers in small towns and the countryside, as well as to an improvement in cooperation between the authorities and cultural representatives including the establishment of a national cultural council.

PORERSKI CHAIRS SCIENCE, EDUCATION BODY MEETING

LD241050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] Politburo member Radeusz Porebski yesterday chaired a PZPR Central Committee Science and Education Commission meeting held in the Central Committee. The commission examined important problems related to education, higher schools and science. The speakers drew attention to the need to resolve issues in a way which will help meet the best conceived needs of national education in a socialist state. The commission also adopted a work program. Present at the meeting were Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary; Eugeniusz Duraczyski, head of the party Central Committee Science and Education Department; Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, scientific secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and training; and Mieczyslaw Kazimierczuk, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

WARSAW MEETING EXAMINES CAUSES OF PAST CRISES

Labecki, Orzechowski Attend

LD251146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] At the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee Higher School of Social Sciences, a 2-day scientific conference on the origins and nature of the socioeconomic crises in Poland from 1948 to 1980 has begun. Taking part are employees of university political science and economy institutes, members of several PZPR Central Committee commissions, leading representatives of Polish political, economic and social life, historians, economists and political theorists, sociologists and philosphers. There are also representatives of the workforces from Warsaw's PAFAWAG and car factory and Gdynia'a Komuna Paryska Shipyard. Jan Labecki, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard Works Committee, and Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, are also taking part in the conference.

Moczar Present

LD261030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Excerpts] The Higher School of Social Sciences of the PZPR Central Committee has organized a 2-day scientific conference, which began in Warsaw on 25 January. The conference is discussing the source and character of the socioeconomic crises in Poland from 1948-80. The conference is attended by Jan Labecki, PZPR Politburo member; Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; and Mieczyslaw Moczar, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy.

Summary of Discussions

LD272304 Warsaw PAP in English 1725 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (PAP) -- A two-day scientific conference devoted to the analysis of the sources and nature of socio-economic crises in Poland in the years 1948-1980 ended its debates here on Tuesday. Motions and proposals submitted during the discussion will serve to elaborate a catalogue of causes of the past crises and an appropriate document will be submitted to the special commission of the PUWP CC set up last September to explain the circumstances, facts and causes of social conflicts which took place in post-war Poland.

The conference stated that in order to understand the essence of the crises it is necessary to clearly define the accountability of persons responsible for distortions and conflicts that Poland lived through. Attention was drawn to the fact that martial law sets the task of the political and ideological reconstruction of Poland and the commencement of a process of education of the society.

Science cannot remain neutral, it was stated. One of its duties should be to prepare source elaborations on the history of People's Poland. Science faces an important task in the shaping of social consciousness, in influencing the postures of young generations.

A thesis was formulated that crisis situations emerged as a result of errors which occurred in the economic policy of Poland. "We had to do with the realization of concepts of the ruling teams and not with the realization of assumptions of scientific socialism, the regularities of social development, it was said.

The conference, organized by the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS) at the PUWP CC, reviewed socio-political issues, including the problems of deformations in intra-party life and the party's ideological-political work. Also presented were the evolution of the programmatic assumptions of and activities of trade unions, the role of workers' self-government in overcoming the crises, and analysed were the main directions of the activities of anti-socialist groupings.

The party's error was that it did not implement and account for the implementation of resolutions adopted in the past, stated Political Bureau member Jan Labelski. Today, he added, the party must base itself on the big industry working class.

Closing the conference, WSNS rector, Associate Professor Norbert Michta stressed the importance of the quality of the leading cadres in the party and government, the system of their promotion to posts, the supervision and control, and their recalling.

He said our Polish experience confirmed the need to combine the principles of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice, that is the principles of the leading role of the working class, the role of the party and the need for a strong and efficient state. This experience also testifies to the need of a creative application of Marxism-Leninism in concrete Polish conditions, taking into account specific Polish tradition and Polish national features.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Discussions

AU011720 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jan 82 p 2

[Zenon Skuza report: "A Scientific Conference in the Higher School for Social Sciences Examines the Sources of Sociopolitical Crises" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] THE SOURCES AND CHARACTER OF THE SOCIOPOLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISES IN PEOPLE'S POLAND WERE SCRUTINIZED AT A SCIENTIFIC SESSION HELD AT THE HIGHER SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL SCIENCES UNDER THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON 25 AND 26 JANUARY. THE SESSION PROCEEDINGS WERE ATTENDED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF MANY SCIENTIFIC CENTERS IN THE COUNTRY AND OF VARIOUS SCIENTIFIC FIELDS.

In the discussion, which was frequently controversial, the participants tried to answer the questions: How to understand the essence of a sociopolitical crisis; are such crises cyclic in nature; are they brought about by objective, or subjective factors, and if so to which of them should a decisive role be attributed; to what extent were the crises caused by external conditions; and is it possible to understand their character, scope and emergence without defining the degree of responsiblity borne by persons exercising leading functions in the life of the state -- in the party and in the state administration.

THE SPEAKERS REPEATEDLY POINTED TO THE FACT THAT, TO ANALYZE THAT PHENOMENON, IT IS NECESSARY TO FIND THE DEGREE OF PERSONAL BLAME AND RESPONSIBILITY. MANY SPEAKERS SIGNALED THE FACT THAT ERRORS COMMITTED IN CADRE POLICY WERE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE.

The conference found that THE CRISES DID NOT RESULT FROM THE UNREFORMABILITY OF THE SYSTEM, WERE NOT AN INHERENT FEATURE OF SOCIALISM, BUT THAT THEY RESULTED FROM ERRORS COMMITTED IN THE GOVERNMENT AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEM, FROM ERRORS IN POLAND'S ECONOMIC POLICY.

Many speakers, including scientists, attributed some blame to science, particularly social and economic sciences subservient to economic policy. It was due in particular to such attitudes on the part of intellectuals that deformities in social life turned into crises. It was pointed out that theory was poorly related to practice actually in the entire post-war period, and particularly in the seventies. ERRONEOUS THESES AND GOALS WERE ADOPTED. THAT ALSO APPLIES TO THE LONG-TERM GOAL: RIVALRY BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM, WHICH SIGNIFIED DEPARTURE FROM THE SUPREME GOAL UNDER SOCIALISM -- MAN AND HIS NEEDS.

The economists emphasized in particular many errors committed in import-export policy, in Poland's policy with regard to CEMA, and voiced the need to restore proper proportions between individual spheres of the national economy, which in the past had been seriously distorted, to restore the rank of social policy, and the need to reconsider the problem of agriculture and of the entire food complex in our country.

Many speakers noted the fact that in our political and ideological practice there was too little realism and too much wishful thinking, too many programs without real conditions for their implementation under the existing conditions, that the class attitude was neglected in analyzing social phenomena, and that the underdeveloped theory of socialist construction provided chances for the development of various brands of voluntarism, beginning with economic voluntarism.

Many speakers advocated the need to highlight the 1948 crisis, regarding it as a primary source of the subsequent crises.

ALL CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS EMPHASIZED IN PRINCIPLE THAT THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE PARTY AND ITS FAITHFULNESS TO MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES IN EXERCISING THE LEADING ROLE WAS THE CONDITION NECESSARY FOR THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL. THEY STRESSED THAT MARTIAL LAW DID NOT CANCEL THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION, BUT PROVIDED REAL CONDITIONS FOR THE PROFOUND SOCIAL REFORMS NECESSARY.

KUBIAK VIEWS PARTY WORK IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

AU221728 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Hieronim Kubiak, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 18 January meeting of first party secretaries in higher schools and of heads of voivodship PZPR committee education departments, held in the Central Committee in Warsaw]

[Excerpt] Speaking at the end of the meeting, H. Kubiak said among other things that the party organizations should also play the role given to them by the 1958 Law on Higher Schools, and should help the higher school authorities normalize academic life and gradually implement all the aims that the ninth party congress had described as socialist renewal. The party organizations should also act as "companions" who support the positive processes in higher schools, thus helping to regain and then to consolidate the academic community's trust in the party.

That is fully feasible if we acquire a profound political knowledge of the situation, if we find out why the authorities were not trusted and if we knock out our adversaries' argument by positive activities.

Party organizations should encourage the academic community to practice critical self-reflection, to shake off illusions and to try to understand what policy is most conducive to developing higher education and to training the intelligentsia. It is also necessary to concretely examine how the ninth congress decisions should be implemented under the conditions of each party organization, and to produce in the academic community a sense of acceptance of our program.

TRYBUNA LUDU CITES HIGH PARTY MORALE IN ARMY

AU261703 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Jan 82 p 1

[Stanislaw Reperowicz article: "Party Members in Uniform"]

[Text] In the exceptionally difficult battle by patriotic forces to lead the country out of the crisis, the soldiers of our army are occupying a prominent position. There are many PZPR members among them, proportionally more than in other social groups.

However, it is not the number of members that are there which determines the authority of party organizations in the Polish People's Army, although it does count. It emerges from the experiences of the international and Polish workers' movements that the party's credibility and its ability to act and lead depends directly on the attitude of its members, their ideological support, honesty and steadfastness, high morality in the broadest sense of the word and sense of justice, and also on the practical implementation of the supreme aims of socialism in daily life, at work and in the family.

People with these qualities have shaped the fact of party organizations in the Armed Forces. They also take the lead in the activity of these organizations today. They are above all soldiers from the war and the occupation and from the time when people's authority was establishing itself, as well as representatives of younger generations who, on a level with their older comrades-at-arms, gave the best years of their lives for the cause of Poland's future. At the price of constantly lengthening hours of service and separation from their homes and families, they supported the implementation of the party's and the government's dreams for the economic development of the country. This they did even when they knew that they were making up by their effort for someone's incompetence or downright ignorance of national and social interests. The stimulating factor was an understanding for the real needs of the country.

The past several dozen months have brought the party a lot of bitter experiences. It was necessary to drag into taking responsibility a large group of recent party work leaders and key state activists, including people who had served People's Poland in the past. Their disloyalty toward the ideals of socialism became the source of a deep split in the party ranks, the great domestic upheaval and the tragic wave of despair about the correctness of the PZPR's general policy line by many of its members.

PZPR members in uniform lived through this great upheaval together with the entire party, although they did not encounter the generally known degeneration in the way the country should be governed in their immediate surroundings, since they occurred outside the structure of the Armed Forces. The existing system of running the military machine, the numerous institutions of self-control and, above all, the great awareness by the professional echelons of what was going on did not encourage lawlessness and using one's position for one's own purposes. So there was no need to go through the painful process of so-called personal settlement of accounts.

The party in the army therefore does not have to try and regain its credibility among soldiers at present, because it has never lost it. Not only are the committees and the executive organizations functioning normally, but the basic and branch organizations and party groups as well. Even in the most difficult months of last year the work pace did not diminish and weaken, and in many cases it even strengthened considerably.

Communists in uniform supported the idea of socialist renewal because they were aware that it was necessary to implement it. However, they were not indifferent to the attempts by the Solidarity extreme to dismantle the state, and they did not gaze passively at the phenomena of anarchy and weakening in social discipline. After all, during party meetings in the army, resolutions were made saying that socialism must be defended in the same way as the fatherland's independence, that our common home, People's Poland, must not be allowed to fall into ruin. The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and the leaders of various levels in the hierarchy asked PZPR members for their opinions before making definite decisions intended to save the state and put a halt to national catastrophe.

This atmosphere of high ideological faith serves to strengthen the party's authority within the Armed Forces. The number of applications to join the PZPR is increasing. Officers, warrant officers, professional NCO's and soldiers doing basic military service, particularly those in their third year, are applying, and so are civilian workers attached to the army. They are applying in the deep conviction that the ideology of the PZPR and the aims of its activities are the way to lead the country out of the crisis; these people beg to take an active part in this.

The experiences of the party in the army have been rated highly throughout the country. Let us remind ourselves that during the conferences which prepared for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, a large group of communists in uniform was elected to the positions of PZPR committee secretaries in parishes, cities and voivodships. This trust was confirmed by delegates of the ninth congress, who during the fourth plenum entrusted the function of first secretary of the Central Committee to the key soldier, supreme military leader and party activist in uniform - Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. A highly representative number of party military activists is entering the framework of the Central Committee as well as other central party bodies.

PZPR DAILY SPONSORS DISCUSSION OF PURGE, TASKS

AU261648 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Staffer report: "In the TRYBUNA LUDU Club -- About Party Problems and Tasks"]

[Text] The party organizations' work in the present situation was discussed by yet another meeting organized by the TRYBUNA LUDU discussion club in the People's Army cotton mill in Lodz.

The discussion was introduced by Anna Pawlowska, head of the party department of the TRYBUNA LUDU editorial board. Discussing the experiences of other party organizations in the country, she said that there was still much vagueness about purging the party ranks of vacillating and indecisive people who are not militant enough and who fail to observe the party statute. We are not interested, she said, in a general verification -- in the so-called purge proper. We are interested in frank party interviews, explanations and exchanges of views in order to consolidate party members around the Ninth PZPR Congress program. We are not interested in any kind of retaliation. We are interested in restoring peace, good order and discipline, in ensuring individual and collective safety and in consolidating the normal functioning of the economy and public life.

During the subsequent discussion lasting over several hours, the participants in the meeting presented their own views on the country's situation, agreeing on one score: that it was necessary to impose martial law and that it has saved Poland from a national drama. Most of them were convinced that the regenerated party must represent primarily workers' interests. A classbound view of Polish interests will protect us against deformations and will ensure that the principles of social justice are observed -- among other things, through a more equitable distribution of the hardships of the crisis among other classes and strata.

The issue of land cultivation and of the cultivator's duties toward the state and the people created a great deal of controversy.

The participants in the meeting stressed strongly that the system of compensation [for increased prices] should be separated from wages. We will help the weaker and needy people, but let the wage list show how individual people work, one participant in the meeting said. Otherwise the incentives for efficient work will fail.

Discussing the party's problems in their plants, the participants in the meeting agreed that it was necessary to get rid of casual and morally tainted people. May it be the minority among us, but let those who remain be honest and high-limited.

WRITERS' ASSOCIATION ELECTS LENART PARTY CHIEF

LD231920 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] An electoral meeting took place in the primary party organization at the Warsaw branch of the Polish Writers Association. Jozef Lenart was elected first secretary.

BAKA ADDRESSES ZSL COMMITTEES ON REFORM

LD292202 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Jan 82

[Excerpts] The problems of introducing the economic reform and the current socioeconomic situation in Poland, with particular attention to the issues affecting rural areas and agriculture, were the main subjects of a conference in Warsaw today of the head of the agricultural and food economy departments of ZSL voivodship committees and of the sociopolitical aktiv of that party.

The course of the introduction of the economic reform was reported on to the assembly by Minister Wladyslaw Baka. He said, among other things, that the changes in the economic system, emerging from the assumptions of the reform, will have a thorough legal foundation. The process of drawing up the legal acts concerning agriculture is already reaching its conclusion.

POLAND FIGURES PROMINENTLY IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Haig Report

LD031916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Secretary of State Alexander Haig, while presenting a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on government activity in the area of foreign policy, devoted almost half of the speech, directly or indirectly, to Poland and processes in our country. The secretary of state did not bring up anything new. On the other hand, the sharp, at times aggressive, tone of this speech, the constant repetition of arguments and threats against our country, and the decidedly unobjective comment on Polish developments are evidence that the administration is determined to use the Polish weapon in the fight to achieve aims of American policy which do not have much in common with Poland.

Haig also submitted a short report from the Geneva meeting with the Soviet Minister, Andrey Gromyko. This part of the speech contained a number of threats and warnings against the Soviet Union.

RZECZPOSPOLITA Observer

LD041200 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 4 Feb (PAP) -- Almost half the report by U.S. Secretary of State Haig to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was devoted to discussion of the situation in Poland and U.S. policy intentions regarding it. The report was a fresh demonstration of the U.S. administration's crudeness and blackmail concerning our motherland, an observer of the paper RZECZPOSPOLITA writes.

Employing his President's language of threats in his unobjective representation of the efforts of the Polish authorities to speed up the process of returning life in Poland to normal, Haig recalled Reagan's threat that further sanctions will be adopted should the situation in Poland develop in a way not to the liking of the U.S. administration.

The assessment of the situation in Poland and the means necessary to restore the normal and practical functioning of the state organism and the life of the people are the constitutional right and supreme duty of every state [sentence as received]. This is taught to every child in school, even in America. We Poles do not need to be taught what order we should establish at home to ensure that calm and a normal rhythm of work prevail.

The U.S. administration has heard this many times in authoritative statements by the Polish Sejm, by Gen W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Constantly raising the Polish question in the international arena, the attempts we have witnessed to attach an international character to the internal problems of our state since martial law was introduced, and the diplomacy of pressure and anti-Polish propaganda using theatrical performances by TV traitors to the Polish people or in the form of the latest television spectacular have nothing in common with the interests of Poland and the Poles.

The "Polish weapon" in the hands of the Reagan administration serves exclusively the strategic goals of the United States and we do not wish this weapon to be used at our expense, the government newspaper stresses.

TRYBUNA LUDU Correspondent

LD222140 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jan (PAP) -- "One month after the introduction of martial law in Poland, both rationalists and reactionists in Washington feel the bitter taste of lost illusions," said TRYBUNA LUDU's Washington correspondent. "This is amplified by the awareness that U.S. NATO camps from Europe generally do not subscribe to American forecasts and not all of them are equally eager to approve of the current restrictions. But the U.S. policy towards Poland makes one forget that it is not realism of views which matters put the perpetuation of the anti-communist goals of U.S. foreign policy.

TRYBUNA LUDU pointed out that the extreme right wingers would like to include in that policy a renounciation of Yalta accords, breaking off the disarmament dialogue and a total departure from the spirit of the Helsinki Conference Final Act.

"The administration has not formulated such goals officially although Secretaries Haig and Weinberger have announced several times the possibility of applying a blackmail in Geneva talks 'as a further step in pressure on communists'."

"Some commentators call the domination of anticommunism in American foreign policy 'a lack of intrinsic logic'. Unfortunately, this observation has no bearing on official policies. Neither do the White House nor the State Department respond to remarks on a double-dealing character of the policy of defending human rights in Poland, when the U.S. shuts its eyes to the universal violation of these rights worldwide, specially in South American states dependent on the U.S."

EFFECT OF U.S. SANCTIONS AGAINST POLAND ASSESSED

Policy Won't Work

LD231454 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 23 Jan 82

["Threats From Across the Ocean" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jan (PAP) -- In a commentary headlined as above the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily stated that "now, when conditions have been set for the development of stabilization, the American administration has changed its tactics towards Poland, deciding that this country must be punished as it wants to solve its own problems itself and itself decide about its fate."

The daily recalled that not long ago stabilization of life and economy in our country was many a time mentioned as a condition set by Western states-countries in negotiations on the granting of further credits to Poland.

"President Reagan should know that the use of this very weapon (economic sanctions) in the most recent history did not bring the United States any long-term gains but, to the contrary, only losses. It was so in the case of Cuba, Vietnam, and other countries, it will be so now.

"The U.S. President is wrong, thinking that the sanctions and the accompanying big propaganda calmour may intimidate the Polish authorities and force them to give up their efforts to kill the plans of the anti-socialist forces to incite a fratricidal was in our country.

"The refusal to carry out the economic agreements, including food supplies to Poland, may hamper the market supply but cannot interrupt us putting in order our home.

"The time is high for the Reagan administration to abandon further attempts at brutal interference in our internal affairs -- it has neither a reason nor a ground for that," concluded the paper.

Past Achievements Risked

LD251220 Warsaw PAP in English 1134 GMT 25 Jan 82

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP) -- In a commentary entitled "Wrath of the President" Karol Szyndzielorz wrote in ZYCIE WARSZAWY that "Poland has become an element of United States' global power-play. The short-sightedness of this power-play is obvious. For short-lived, anti-communist benefits, Reagan is ready to risk achievements of the decades of normal relations between the Poles and Americans, between the governments of both countries. He thinks that the worse-off is Poland, the better for America.

"The erection of a sanitary cordon around our country, which the White House seems to dream of, will not succeed," stated Karol Szyndzielorz and concluded: "We still want good relations with the United States. What is more, we believe that they are still needed by the two countries."

Cannot Unite NATO

LD271506 Warsaw PAP in English 1407 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (PAP) -- Commenting on the attitude of the U.S. and other NATO states to Poland, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote inter alia: "American and NATO 'sanctions', unfriendly stand on the directions of restoring order, continuation of reforms and recovery of the country adopted by us, propaganda fire on our constututional order -- all this can make coming out of the crisis more difficult for us, (especially the economic sanctions can affect our citizens), but the West is in no position to block this.

"Nonetheless the destructive actions of the West, and especially the U.S. which are incompatible with our national and state interests, and a return to the cold war rhetoric of the Dulles and Adenauer era, are disturbing the climate of dialogue and cooperation in Europe.

"We are convinced that also this will be overcome, yet it will not be possible to forget completely who in the West and why has made it difficult for us to rebuild the republic, who put spokes in our wheels being motivated by short-sighted political considerations, which are incompatible with European realities and correctly perceived interests of European nations.

"It is high time that the West, and particularly Western Europe, understood that the artificially magnified 'Polish issue', which is Poland's internal affair, cannot be used for immediate purposes of uniting and disciplining NATO, or with a view to satisfying the hegemonistic ally across the ocean. Poland does not deserve such instrumental attitude," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

W. Europe Fails U.S. 'Exam'

LD030954 Warsaw PAP in English 0835 GMT 3 Feb 82

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Feb (PAP) -- According to the Reagan administration [word indistinct], determined by the U.S. demand that its NATO allies should join America in its sanctions against Poland Western Europe did not pass the American exam appropriately, wrote Maksymilian Berezowski in TRYBUNA LUDU today in an article on the attitude on the West to the Polish issues.

Western Europe's skepticism towards USA's insistent demands to aggravate its policy line is caused by two different factors, the author continued. The first is of an economic nature. The second stems from disbelief in the correctness of the American judgement of the overall world situation.

The difference of views between the United States and the West European countries towards the so-called Soviet threat first manifested itself over the armaments issue, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote next. Now the position has been taken over by the Polish crisis. Of course, the Polish events in the West act such a role because the United States decided to use it as a strategical weapon, the daily said next.

What more, the Western army staffs came to the conclusion that the changes that occurred in Poland after Dec 13 have reinforced the coherence of the socialist countries, while the Western alliance is not experiencing an analogical process. The West has been relatively weakened, and this has to be made up by offensiveness, the daily said.

In that process, Western Europe participates only in a limited form, TRYBUNA LUDU said. It defines the U.S. policy towards Poland and the Soviet Union in terms of an "excessive reaction" and snarls at an imposed line of conduct. Nevertheless, it departs for Madrid with a plan to attack. It [words indistinct] spare unfriendly gestures but it does not want to push things as far as it has been done in the United States, and, thus, still fails to pass the exam, TRYBUNA LUDU concluded.

Americans Questioning Policy

LD221246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Washington's anti-Polish campaign continues. Recently, for example, Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state, advised the use of the credit weapon against Poland in order to bring about Poland's bankruptcy and its consequences. Mrs Kirkpatrick, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, proposed entering the Polish issue into the UN forum. Secretary of State Alexander Haig has said the Polish issue will be the main topic at his 26 January meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko.

However growing anti-Polish aggressiveness by the administration is being accompanied by social doubts concerning the correctness and purpose of such policy. More and more statements in are appearing in the American press and television questioning the correctness and moral aspects of economic sanctions against Poland.

Fishing Losses

LD222258 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2117 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] The decision by President Reagan regarding economic sanctions against Poland has affected fishing enterprises. The crews of several score Polish vessels fish annually in fishing grounds in the U.S. zones, including about five or six vessels belonging to the deep-sea fishing enterprise GRYF in Szczecin. What has the enterprise lost to this decision?

In the Pacific grounds in the U.S. zone, GRYF had four ships [words indistinct]. That is the region of Alaska Bay, the Bering Sea and the region off the states of Washington, Oregon and California. We caught about 500,000 tons of species there accepted by the consumers, i.e. [words indistinct]. In the Pacific we carried on export production which brought us in an annual amount of about 86 million. In the southwest Atlantic where the fleets have been transferred, export value amounts to (?some) $2-2.5 million. This is, therefore, a fairly considerable loss of about $4 million which, under the self-financing foreign currency system used by Polish fisheries, is a completely strategic matter here, I would say.

WESTERN RESPONSE TO EVENTS CRITICIZED

'Polish Days' Aim Viewed

LD231000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1908 GMT 22 Jan 82

[From the "Foreign Affairs Magazine"]

[Text] Recent Western reaction to the situation in Poland indicates a rather clear consolidation of the official rejection by the Western states' governments of the Polish reasoning that the imposition of martial law in Poland on 13 December was a lesser evil than letting the course of events develop itself without any control. And so, for example, the European parliament in Strasbourg, advisory body to the West European governments, proposed yesterday during its session an emotional gesture in the form of the day of Polish solidarity on 30 January.

It is planned that on the same day in London there will be a mass meeting demonstrating solidarity with Poland, and already some time ago American President Reagan announced that on the same day there will be a special television program devoted to Poland and to its problems.

These decisions and appeals are the result of a feeling of disapproval for the imposition of martial law in our country and their aim is to win the support of public opinion for undertakings of a more concrete, political nature entering thus the domain of ideological struggle between the East and the West in which the Polish argument is to be exploited. Among the recent decision one can list that of the commission governing the West European Economic Community which proposed that the member states should suspend sales of specially priced food to Poland. The price difference is also to be passed on to buy food but it is to be distributed by charities in Poland [sentence as heard]. The result of the Paris session of the so-called Commission for the Coordination of Technology Sales to the Socialist Countries brings a different element. It emerges that 15 member states have come to an agreement regarding the new methods of selling this technology which will take into account the altered political situation. One can gather that restrictions on imports and [word indistinct] are what is meant here.

We also have to make a note of the recent statement by the external relations minister, Claude Cheysson, who in answer to a question regarding current Polish-French relations, said that they are frozen. From this set of new tones in the last few days it emerges clearly that the idea of confrontation between the East and the West is winning support in the West. It is difficult to say at the moment whether this is happening under the American pressure and whether it is a temporary phenomenon or not. On the other hand, one has to realize that in the process of emerging from the economic problems in the present phase of our history we shall have to rely on ourselves, on our ingenuity and on the help of the socialist countries. This must require unusual organizational energy and absolutely faultless competence in taking action, because we simply cannot afford to make even the smallest mistakes or waste what we still have.

What we do have, on the other hand, has to be increased through our own efforts and thoughts as nobody is going to worry for us. At most, they will feel sorry for us as the deputies in Strasbourg did when they proclaimed the Polish day.

Western 'Friends' Attack

LD221232 Warsaw PAP in English 1115 GMT 22 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jan (PAP) -- "Our Western 'friends' are attacking us all," said TRYBUNA LUDU in a frontpage commentary referring to Poland's true and false friends. "It is not only that they have resorted to practices inconsistent with international customs shaped over centuries of civilised life. They are also breaking all principles of international canons contained in documents beginning with the U.N. Charter and ending with the Helsinki Final Act, which guarantees respect for internal affairs of states, and, as in the case of credits, infringe the already concluded agreements," the daily said.

The daily went on: "How different in this context is the attitude demonstrated by the socialist countries whom, it must be admitted, we have caused a lot of inconvenience. But they fully grasped our situation and are fulfilling their obligations. On top of that they have started additional supplies to help Poland overcome her difficulties."

"Echoing the siren's song of Western radio stations, definite propaganda circles have recently raised much noise over the so-called Poland's affiliation to the West. Such links, although they are not exclusive, really exist and no sensible person is going to question them. But it turns out that in difficult times of greatest importance are ideological links along with the great socialist community of countries and peoples, stemming from the most lofty principles of internationalism. This is our main support on which we can count," said TRYBUNA LUDU in conclusion.

Austria's Kreisky Cited

AU211521 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jan 82 p 6

[Ryszard Drecki review: "Foreign Countries About Poland"]

[Excerpt] Austria

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky has made another statement on the circumstances that were responsible for martial law in Poland and has criticized the Solidarity leaders for having abused the weapon of strike after August 1980.

In contrast to many other Western politicians, Kreisky, who views the Polish situation in a realistic way, said that the people who had led Solidarity did not realize that strikes are instruments which must be used with enormous caution.

In that context the Austrian chancellor said that, although the church in Poland has a tremendous moral authority, it has not been able to give the necessary political guidance to the profoundly religious workers.

'Unrealistic Aim' Noted

AU221739 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 82 p 7

[PAP roundup: "Foreign Countries About the Polish Situation"]

[Excerpt] Austria

Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky gave the PROFIL weekly an interview devoted to a large extent to Poland's affairs.

Characterizing the development of events in our country before martial law was introduced, the chancellor pointed out that attempts to tear Poland out of the socialist bloc had been an unrealistic aim, and stressed that it would radically change the relations resulting from World War II.

Bruno Kreisky then said that the Military Council for National Salvation intends to respect the renewal movement in Poland and cited the letter he had received through the Polish ambassador.

Discussing various trends within Solidarity, Kreisky pointed out that Solidarity had contained a group of people who wanted to implement purely political aims, which created friction in Solidarity as well as radicalism and the escalation of demands.

In another passage of his interview, Bruno Kreisky criticized Solidarity for resorting to strikes and avoiding, at the same time, responsibility for the country's situation, which it laid at the door of the Polish Government. "I have warned the Poles before," the chancellor said, "and I was right, unfortunately. One cannot just strike. One should also shoulder responsibility...."

Kreisky Remarks Assessed

AU261715 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Jan 82 p 4

[Eugeniusz Guz commentary: "Around Chancellor Kreisky's Critical Remarks"]

[Text] The understanding on the part of Austria and its authorities of the extremely difficult and tangled up situation of Poland is generally known on the Vistula River. It is only natural that Vienna does not endorse everything that occurs in our country. It is also natural that a foreign observer should find it difficult to understand everything that has happened since the summer of 1980, because his observation point is too far from the scene of events. This is why we avoid, as far as possible, taking a position on opinions and views voiced abroad. However, under certain circumstances our silence might be interpreted erroneously.

Bruno Kreisky, chancellor of Austria, who, from the very beginning, has been watching the events in Poland with great interest and involvement, recently voiced an opinion -- evidently of dubious correctness -- about the position taken and the role performed by the Catholic Church in Poland in the process of renewal, particularly in the period of great tension accompanying that process. In the chancellor's opinion, the "Catholic Church certainly enjoys great moral prestige, but has been unable to give people any political advice, and at least has never proved to be able to do that" (DPA). In line with another agency's report on the chancellor's meeting with his party's leaders, "true enough, the church constitutes a great moral force, but is not predisposed to lead the workers." The agencies summed up Kreisky's views in the following brief way: The Austrian chancellor burdened the church with responsibility for the events in Poland.

In his pronouncement -- which met with a generally negative response in the West -- Kreisky probably presented a somewhat simplified view of the complex problem of the church's position in any socialist state, which is twice as complex in Poland as the scene of a bitter political struggle. In his country, Kreisky certainly does not find room for the Catholic Church as a political force. Moreover, it is rather difficult to think of a capitalist country in which things are otherwise. Kreisky probably does not advise socialist Poland to apply any other solution, which in a socialist country would, moreover, be unacceptable. Furthermore, to consider the church as a moral but not political, force is in line with the church's mission as it is understood by the church itself.

In People's Poland, the church has repeatedly proved to be a difficult partner for the authorities, and the other way around -- the authorities for the church. Hoever, with the common interests in view, both have sought a common language for the benefit of the country and mostly found it. Since August 1980, there have been very many occasions to make such attempts. Although both sides differed and continued to differ in assessing the situation, or proposed differing treatments, in the end they have reached a common platform whenever issues of fundamental importance for the functioning of the state were discussed. Not every church opinion took into account the interests of the authorities who, after all, bore the final responsibility for the country's destinies. On the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the fact that the church hierarchy has been making a significant moral contribution to easing conflicts and to mitigating the extreme forces and ideas. Responsibility for the situation that emerged in Poland after 13 December, the political opposition concentrated around the Workers' Defense Committee [KOR], the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and other forces ideologically bound up with the former within Solidarity and obtaining support from abroad.

UN COMMITTEE DEBATE IN GENEVA ADJOURNED

LD030932 Warsaw PAP in English 0809 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Geneva, 2 Feb (PAP) -- The committee preparing the agenda of the 38th session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission which was opened yesterday was debating in Geneva today. After a quarter of an hour of heated discussion Chairman of the Commission Ivan Garvalov (Bulgaria) adjourned the debates to make consultations between delegations of participating states possible.

The necessity of such consultations was the result of an attempt taken by representatives of a number of Western states to force the discussion of the "Polish issue" by the commission. Poland's delegate, Professor Adam Lopatka and delegates from Cuba, the USSR and the Belorussian SSR protested against this pointing to the fact that there is no such item in the agenda of the session's debates adopted yesterday.

The majority of the remaining delegations firmly rejected the anti-Polish provocation which, according to opinions voiced in the lobby, was engineered by the U.S. delegation. In this context attention is given to the news conference of the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams who advertised the U.S. delegation's intention to force "Poland's affairs" to be discussed by the commission.

DEPUTY TRADE MINISTER VIEWS TRADE BALANCE

LD230030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Correspondent Anna Andrzejewska interview with Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Antoni Karas — date not given; recorded]

[Text] [Question] Minister, we have entered a new year with enormous debts, which accumulated for years and not just in the recent period. Although with recent purchases we got rid of [words indistinct]

[Answer] The burden of credits accepted earlier has been very great, despite the rescheduling of our debts due for payment in 1981 -- I have in mind particularly guaranteed credits. Credits prepared in the rescheduling agreement, which are owed to private banks include a very great proportion of export revenue which we have to earmark to pay off so-called inflexible payments. Thus the remaining foreign currency which we obtain from exports has proved insufficient for normal supplies to the country and consequently, as in past years, we have had to take advantage of foreign credits, although acquiring them has been increasingly difficult.

[Question] Nevertheless vast purchases are being made -- of food in particular.

[Answer] First, they have been lower than the purchases made in 1980. Second, there is the very unfavorable trend which appeared last year, when more than half the imports from the capitalist countries consisted of agricultural foodstuffs. To express it is terms of cost, last year we spent on food imports from the capitalist countries more than $3 billion, and the negative balance of the exchange of agricultural foodstuffs was a record of its kind for the postwar record, reaching about $2.3 billion.

[Question] Minister, this year, unfortunately, we will have to make additional purchases, for we will not survive unless we buy foodstuffs and raw materials for industrial production.

[Answer] Unfortunately, this year our situation is even more difficult than in previous years. It results primarily from the restrictions on foreign credits introduced by the United States and the NATO countries. In practice, access to foreign credits has been blocked except to some sources, enabling the financing of grain imports.

In view of this, all our imports from the capitalist countries must be paid for in ready cash. For that reason, the issue of the most economical management possible of these modest foreign currency resources takes on a fundamental significance. One of these priorities is the import of foodstuffs enabling us at least to cover of the population's requirements within the limits of the allocations under the rationing system. Nonetheless we must also be careful and on our guard to regulate the proportions of imports, the foreign currency expenditure on food supplies and the import of supplies for the economy. We simply must aim in particular to ensure that supplies of materials for agriculture and industry are sufficiently great to enable the maximum use of the potential we possess and to ensure that imported goods are not consumed but multiplied in the process of agricultural and industrial production so as to more broadly satisfy the requirements of the country and produce more goods for export.

[Question] What, in the immediate future can you buy for us, for industry and for our markets?

[Answer] As for heavy industry, this applies to iron ore, tin, [words indistinct] for the chemical industry. Rubber and phosphorus raw materials, potassium raw materials for agriculture and so forth have such important significance. I would like to stress at this point the particular significance of the import of raw materials [word indistinct] of the consumer industry from the socialist countries, which view with immense understanding the economic difficulties our country is experiencing and not only are they consistently implementing their contractual obligations but are giving us economic aid and supplying fairly considerable deliveries, ahead of the schedule envisaged in agreements. As a result, it will be possible to alleviate the economic difficulties somewhat.

TRYBUNA LUDU STRESSES NEED TO EARN HARD CURRENCY

LD030938 Warsaw PAP in English 0831 GMT 3 Feb 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Feb (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU observed that in the first quarter of 1982 the Polish tyre industry will use only 60 percent of its production capacities, the fur and leather industry only 50 per cent, some other branches of manufacturing -- still less. The reason is only one; in the last months of 1981 there was no hard currency for accumulation or purchases of appropriate amounts of industrial raw materials, materials or components. There were not enough foreign credits either.

The road to restoring economic independence does not lead through turning one's back on the world, the daily said.

To free oneself from the claws of debts, but at the same time to protect oneself against the repeating of such a detrimental situation in the economic relations as that which had occurred at the turn of the 70's and 80's requires not a limitation of imports but an activization of exports, TRYBUNA LUDU continued.

The now necessary restrictions on imports cannot become a long distance policy, cannot be a means of restoring the balance of payments equilibrium. The only method corresponding to common sense and the economic calculus is to earn hard currency through exports, highly profitable exports which would increase and not decrease the national income.

We finally have to start to really participate in the international division of labour and international trade, TRYBUNA LUDU said, in a different way, however, than we tried to do it in the 70's by forcing imports on credits and leaving bills to be payed by future generations, but in a proper manner as it should be done -- on the basis of partnership, by gaining foreign customers for our goods manufactured at [words indistinct] and competing in quality and not price, by financing imports from exports, the daily stated.

BUCHAREST ANNOUNCES HAIG VISIT 12-13 FEB

AU031709 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] At the invitation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig will pay a visit to Romania between 12 and 13 February.

FURTHER ON CEAUSESCU-PAJETTA 2 FEB TALKS

AU031703 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Report on talks between RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu and PCI leader Giancarlo Pajetta on 2 February in Predeal resort]

[Excerpt] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Giancarlo Pajetta had an extensive exchange of views on current international political issues and on matters pertaining to the workers and communist movement. In this framework, they pointed out the particularly complex nature of the world political situation, as a result of the policy of force, diktat, domination and oppression, and of the unprecedented intensification of the arms race, which seriously jeopardizes the independence and sovereignty of peoples and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The sides assessed that, in these circumstances, all states, regardless of their social and political system, all peoples and all progressive and anti-imperialist forces are dutybound to resolutely act to reduce international tension; to resume and continue the policy of detente, cooperation and peace; and to resolve politically all states of tension and conflict and all contentious issues between states through negotiations, by proceeding from respect for national independence and sovereignty, equal rights, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states and nonuse of force or the threat of force.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Giancarlo Pajetta paid particular attention to the evolution of the European situation. Proceeding from the reality that there is a huge concentration of all kinds of weapons in Europe, including nuclear arms, the sides assessed that the key issues of the contemporary world are peace and disarmament. Therefore, everything possible should be done to halt the arms race, prevent the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles and withdraw the existing ones, and proceed to disarmament, primarily nuclear.

Pointing out the importance of the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States, the sides expressed the hope that all efforts will be made to conclude these negotiations with good results. The European states should participate, in one form or another, in these negotiations in order to ensure their success. The life and existence of European peoples is at stake, and these problems cannot be resolved over their heads, without the participation of European countries.

The sides emphasized the need for concluding the Madrid meeting with good results, so that it can stimulate the uniform implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, convene a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe, and ensure the continuity of the process of building European security and cooperation.

In connection with the situation in Poland, the sides stressed that the problems in that country are of concern to the Polish people themselves. They expressed the conviction that the PZPR, all healthy and realistic forces in Poland, and the Polish people, by acting in full unity, have the necessary force and capacity to overcome the crisis and ensure the socialist and democratic development of the country, along the road of progress, well-being, freedom and national independence.

During the talks, the sides stressed the fact that now, when there are so many problems to be resolved in the world, the European peoples should direct their attention toward halting the deployment of and completely removing the missiles; implementing the principles of security and cooperation in a united Europe, based on equality and respect for the social system in each country; and attaining new relations on the European Continent.

The two sides stressed the need to resolutely act to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order, stating that, along with disarmament, this is a primary factor for mankind's existence and for economic stability, progress and national independence.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Giancarlo Pajetta stressed that international unity and solidarity are a requirement of the struggle against the imperialist and colonialist policy of force and diktat, against war and for peace. This new kind of unity must be attained on the basis of principles of respect for each party's and people's independence and right to freely choose its development path and structures, without any kind of outside interference. They stressed that, in the current international circumstances, the communist and workers parties, the socialist and social-democratic parties and all forces advocating socialism are dutybound to do everything they can to not sharpen contradictions among themselves but overcome them, by proceeding from the socialist revolutionary principles and observing the independence of each party and political and social force.

During the talks, the sides emphasized the need to continuously strengthen the cooperation and solidarity of communist and workers parties, in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect and each party's right to draft its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics, in accordance with the actual conditions prevailing in each country. They stated that the existence of different opinions on one or another issue should not prevent contacts and exchanges of opinions among parties, in view of the diversity of contemporary problems.

The meeting proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, characteristic of relations between the RCP and PCI.

UN DELEGATE SCORES ISRAEL OVER GOLAN HEIGHTS

AU031946 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] United Nations, 3 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Taking the floor during the debates of the special emergency session of the UN General Assembly on the decision of the Israeli parliament to annex the Golan Heights, Ambassador Teodor Marinescu, Romania's permanent representative to the UN, reiterated Romania's stand on principle of firmly condemning any act of annexation by force of foreign territories, her consistent concern for the achievement of a global, just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Setting forth again Romania's clear stand on the annexation act adopted by the Israeli authorities which she considers illegal and null, a flagrant violation of the principle of inadmissibility of territorial annexation by force, of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent state, an act that runs counter to the resolutions of the Security Council, accepted by Israel, the Romanian representative stressed that such actions do nothing but enhance tension and render more remote the prospect of a peaceful settlement. He reasserted Romania's consistent stand according to which no matter how complicated and serious the international issues may be they can be solved not by force but by negotiated, peaceful means.

Now more than ever before Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu consider that under the current international circumstances threatening mankind's peace, all states' most resolute efforts should pursue the speeding up of the political settlement of conflictual states of affairs and of the extinction of the hotbeds of war, the settlement of all litigious issues by negotiations alone, ensuring thus conditions so that peoples should devote their creative capabilities to economic and social progress.

Next, the Romanian representative set forth Romania's stand on principle on the need for a global, just and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict grounded on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, on the acknowledgement of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to set up its own independent state.

He reiterated the proposals of Romania's president regarding the provision of a new framework of negotiations, the organization of an international conference under the aegis and with the active participation of the UN, to be attended by all the countries concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization included, the Soviet Union and the USA, as well as other states that can make a positive contribution to the settlement of the conflict in the area, saying that such a framework would allow for the resolution of all the complicated questions raised by the Middle East situation, inclusive of Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights and the other Arab occupied territories.

In this respect the Romanian representative said that the time had come for the United Nations, taking a firm and clear attitude against the annexation of the Golan Heights, to give prime place within their concerns to the fundamental objective of establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East, make all efforts for overcoming the current situation and work most resolutely for a global solution to the conflict in keeping with the lofty aspirations of all the peoples in the region, with the interests of world peace and security.

FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DUMA HAS TALKS IN DENMARK

AU031948 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Copenhagen, 3 Feb (AGERPRES) -- Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Peter P. Dyvig, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Denmark, expressed their satisfaction at the ascending course of the relations between Romania and Denmark, and examined new ways and means of expanding and diversifying the Romanian-Danish cooperation on multiple planes, in the economic field in particular.

During the exchange of opinions on major aspects of the current international situation, special attention was paid to European peace and security problems, to the Madrid meeting. Emphasis was placed on the need for all the European states to intensify their efforts for making concrete steps towards disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, towards the resumption of the course of detente and the conclusion of the Madrid meeting with a balanced and substantive final document, towards the continuation of the process begun in Helsinki of strengthening security and collaboration among all the European peoples.

BELGIAN SOCIALIST DELEGATION ARRIVES 3 FEB

AU031950 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Feb (AGERPRES) -- On February 3 a delegation of the Belgian socialist parties, headed by Guy Spitaels, president of the French-speaking wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, that is paying a visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP arrived in Bucharest.

The members of the delegation are Jef Ramekers, member of the National Bureau of the Flemish Socialist Party, first vice-president of the Chamber of Representatives, honorary chairman of the "Dacia" cultural association, Michel Viseur, member of the Military Commission of the French-speaking wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, counsellor to the president of the party, Emily Spelkens, responsible for international affairs of the French-speaking wing of the Belgian Socialist Party.

The guests were welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, by other Romanian officials.

Yves Vercauteren, Belgian ambassador in Bucharest, was present.

BELGRADE RADIO COMMENTS ON POLAND, CSCE

AU032041 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Bozidar Kicovic commentary]

[Text] Because of their nature, the events in Poland are justly the subject of many discussions, analyses and interpretations. The differences in views, positions and practical behavior are as numerous -- indeed, nuances are frequently at stake -- as those who in any way concern themselves with the causes and effects of the undoubtedly unpleasant events in that socialist country. Certainly, propaganda contests as well as assessments made in the light of the interests and positions of the moment are intertwined in all this.

When a process of searching for what is new and progressive started off strongly in August 1980, the workers class of Poland and the Polish people, surely, did not desire what has since happened and continues to happen. Therefore theirs is the worst part, made worse by the fact that they have been put between the millstones of bloc contests and that their problems are being more and more internationalized. The Poles themselves will probably be best able to judge how much certain forces in Poland contributed to this and why they did so — because of dogmatism, lack of realism, illusions and the like.

The introduction of martial law is undoubtedly a grave fact which presses like a nightmare and which cannot be escaped. However, it is also a fact that one cannot get out of this state with the least pain and delay possible by punishing the Polish people through so-called aid which turns into the tightening of bloc screws around its neck.

In such a situation, in order for Poland to weather the crisis and find itself, it is necessary that possibilities and prerequisites be created not only internally but also on the European and wider international fields to almost the same extent. The exchanges of propaganda bursts of fire in Madrid and a postponement of the CSCE cannot, it is more than certain, achieve anything that may benefit Poland and the efforts of the Poles to return to negotiations and agreements among all social forces, or to a normalization and democratization of internal life. On the contrary, they would be an additional great obstacle for them.

True aid to Poland and the Poles, who broached their problem by themselves, must be such that will enable them to find their own answer. They and their workers class are capable of doing so.

Looked at in this light, the Madrid CSCE may provide a great contribution under the condition that it resumed its work and concludes it successfully in the spirit of the present European imperative, the return to the process of detente and cooperation on the principles of Helsinki. In the opposite case, it is difficult to expect anything useful, and the harmful consequences would probably be unavoidable both for Poland and for Europe and its cooperation and security.

U.S. ATTEMPT TO POSTPONE MADRID CSCE NOTED

LD031456 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1351 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Madrid, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- The majority of Western countries, among which the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Greece, have declined support to the U.S. proposal to put off the Madrid meeting of the European Security and Cooperation Conference [CSCE] Madrid sources report.

The Paris and Bonn governments consider that the postponement of the Madrid meeting would encourage "cold war winds" and endanger both the West-East dialogue and the CSCE process itself, the same sources claim.

The West agrees, however, that the Madrid meeting, scheduled to be resumed on February 8, should raise a debate on the events in Poland, although vehement opposition by Poland and other Eastern countries which assess this as a gross interference in the internal affairs of Poland, might be expected.

U.S. Secretary of State Haig has announced arrival in Madrid on Sunday, two days before the opening of the new phase of the meeting. It is assumed that Haig will try to persuade the West to accept the U.S. stands.

The U.S. considers that the Madrid meeting should be adjourned immediately after the debate on the Polish events. This stand is supported by Spain, the host country.

Head of the Spanish delegation Ruperez has stated that "it is logical that the Madrid meeting should be postponed until next autumn pending an improvement in the international situation."

Last week in Vienna the non-aligned and neutral countries of Europe agreed to invest additional efforts for a successful outcome of the Madrid meeting.

These countries consider that the Madrid meeting should renew genuine negotiations on the final document of the meeting.

All decisions of the meeting are to be adopted by consensus. Observers believe, therefore, that the meeting will be resumed although in the atmosphere of bloc rivalry.

ROMANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER DEPARTS 3 FEB

LD031916 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1652 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- The Romanian national defence minister, Major-General Constantin Olteanu, left here today.

Gen Olteanu visited Belgrade as guest of the Yugoslav national defence secretary, General of the Army Nikola Ljubicic.

During his visit to Yugoslavia, the Romanian national defence minister was received by President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher.

Gen Olteanu was seen off at Belgrade Airport by his host, Gen Nikola Ljubicic.

PRESIDENCY SESSION HELD IN BELGRADE 3 FEBRUARY

LD031652 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1509 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- A session of the SFRY Presidency was held in Belgrade today.

Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, who chaired the session, briefed the president on the results of the recent official friendly visit to our country by Pakistani President Ziaul Haq. The assessment was made that this visit and the meaningful talks conducted on that occasion represent a significant encouragement for the further development of friendly relations and cooperation between the two nonaligned countries. The need was especially stressed of investing mutual efforts to expand economic cooperation, to which considerable attention was paid in the Yugoslav-Pakistani talks. The conviction was expressed that the exchange of views on the present complex development of the situation in the world, acute international problems and on the direction of activity by nonaligned countries, especially within the framework of the preparations for the seventh summit, will contribute to further joint efforts for the affirmation of the policy of nonalignment as an independent and nonbloc factor in the world.

The Presidency adopted the decision to set up a coordination commission for the preparation of Yugoslavia's participation in the seventh nonaligned conference of heads of state or government. The Coordination Commission, which is headed by the president of the SFRY presidency, comprises: Ljupco Arsov, Viktor Avbelj, Ismail Bajra, Dr Vladimir Bakaric, Aleksandar Bakocevic, Dimce Belovski, Jakov Blazevic, Bogic Bogicevic, Mitar Dimitrievski, Nijaz Dizdarevic, Raif Dizdarevic, Dr Dusan Dragosavac, Ivan Dolnicar, Veselin Djuranovic, Bozidar Franges, Rade Galeb, Ignac Golob, Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, Sinan Hasani, Fadilj Hodza, Lazar Kolisevski, Dr Slavko Komar, Sergej Kraigher, Nikola Ljubicic, Dragoslav Markovic, Cvijetin Mijatovic, Branko Mikulic, Veljko Milatovic, Milos Minic, Lazar Mojsov, Dzevad Mujezinovic, Milka Planinc, Sulejman Redzerpasic, Petar Stambolic, Milan Sahovic, Kolj Siroka, Ali Sukrija, Tikhomir Suvakov, Zora Tomic, Vica Tomsic, Kazimir Vidas, Dobrivoje Vidic, Predrag Vladisavljevic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Dr Anton Vratusa, Josip Vrhovec and Vidoje Zarkovic.

The session also discussed some questions of the implementation of the Presidency stances and decisions and some other questions pertaining to the constitutional jurisdiction of the Presidency.

SECRETARY VRHOVEC CONTINUES VISIT TO AFRICA

Vrhovec, Richard Press Conference

LD031844 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1622 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Antananarivo, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec and Madagascar Foreign Minister Christian Remi Richard have expressed satisfaction with the results of their three-day talks here in Antananarivo.

At a press conference held by Vrhovec and Richard at the close of Vrhovec's visit to Madagascar today, Vrhovec told newsmen that the importance of the forthcoming nonaligned summit in Baghdad and the need for all non-aligned countries to invest efforts for the summit's successful outcome were underlined by both sides during the talks with Richard and Madagascar President Ratsiraka.

Vrhovec told newsmen that a number of important non-aligned ministerial meetings will be held soon, to discuss all questions of importance for the forthcoming summit.

Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned country, fully supports the independence of Madagascar and Madagascar's proposal for an international conference on turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, Vrhovec said.

Arrives in Kenya 3 Feb

LD041002 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0900 GMT 4 Feb 82

[Text] Nairobi, 4 Feb (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec arrived yesterday evening in Nairobi on an official visit to Kenya. At the "Jomo Kenyatta" Airport, Vrhovec was greeted by Kenyan Foreign Minister Robert Ouko.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary will today confer with Kenyan President and President of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Daniel Arap Moi.

During his current tour of Africa, Vrhovec has visited Angola, Mozambique and Madagascar. He also made a stop-over in Tanzania en route from Maputo to Antanarivo.

ASSEMBLY URGES CHANGES IN ECONOMIC PLAN

LD032124 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- The Assembly of Yugoslavia today instructed the Yugoslav Federal Government by the end of September to prepare a draft of the changes necessary in the country's development plan for the current medium term (through 1985).

The medium-term development plan needs to be adjusted to the Yugoslav economy's actual possibilities which have been notably narrowed by the inadequate increase in national exports to convertible-currency markets.

The increased loan payment obligations, difficulties in securing foreign credits and reduced investment possibilities in the course of last and this year are the main reasons necessitating corrections in Yugoslavia's development plan.

At the end of last year, Yugoslavia's indebtedness, particularly in relations to convertible-currency markets, reached a high level, considerably raising the debt payment obligations. The level of the country's indebtedness envisaged under the plan, the Yugoslav Federal Government estimates, must over the current medium term be lowered by around four billion dollars.

In view of the above, changes in and supplements to Yugoslavia's medium-term development plan will be focused on insuring the Yugoslav economy's more active participation in the international division of labour and raising exports, particularly to convertible-currency markets.

Priority must, therefore, be given to reducing imports of raw materials and components deficient on the home market. In this context, a selection must be made and the imports of the products important for eliminating disproportions in the economy retained.

The draft changes in the development plan must give priority also to stepping up the development of the basic agricultural production and shifting the focus in transport on the railways and developing river and maritime transport with a view to contributing more to the country's foreign-currency recepts.

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER DISCUSSES AGRO-INDUSTRIAL PLAN

AU031549 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Text] Milovan Zidar, president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, spoke at a session of the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces today, telling the delegates why no accord has been reached yet on implementing the policy of developing the agro-industrial complex as provided in the 5-year plan. Several delegates, including Ljubisav Markovic, Berislav Sefer, Brana Cosic, Dejan Markovic, Petar Zecevic, Ratomir Fuhsi and Moric Romano, pointed out that the problems of agriculture are somewhat wider than shown in the proposed accord on the development of the agro-industrial complex.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces noted that many questions of this accord had been successfully agreed upon, but not questions such as the source of the funds for development and financing of current production, the provision of foreign exchange funds for imports of raw materials and production materials, prices and stimulative measures. The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces therefore believes that it is necessary that the Federal Executive Council and others participating in the accord make an additional effort in finding and proposing suitable solutions on the questions that remain open and have not been agreed upon. The Chamber believes that work on reaching agreement on these questions should be speeded up so that the accord on the development of the agro-industrial complex may be realized.

MACEDONIAN LC DISCUSSES SOCIAL POLICY 3 FEB

LD031410 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT 3 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Skopje, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- At its session today the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee discussed topical questions of the implementation of social policy in this republic and the tasks of the League of Communists of Macedonia. The session was chaired by Angel Cemerski, and the introductory report was read by Tome Drakulevski, executive secretary of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee Presidium. Topical questions of social policy are increasingly present in the day-to-day activities of the League of Communists of Macedonia because the economic and social security of the working people and citizens and social humanism are the fundamental values on which we base our social relations, Drakulevski stressed at the beginning of his report, emphasizing that the discussion on this issue is in the function of broad activities within the context of the preparations for the forthcoming congresses of the Leagues of Communists.

Referring to the implementation of the ideopolitical orientations of the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia in social policy, Drakulevski stressed that significant results have been attained. First of all, a major change has taken place in the handling of social policy. The League of Communists steadfastly worked for and continues to work for the establishment of new relations in this sphere, based on the work and results of the work which constitute the basis for ensuring economic and social security of the working people and citizens. A more harmonious socioeconomic development of the republic can be implemented successfully only by direct linkage and the interdependence of economic and social policies.

In analysing the results attained since the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia, Tome Drakulevski stressed that the material basis of social policy as a whole has considerably improved and that significant results have been attained.

In some branches of industry tendencies toward the leveling out of personal income have been noted, and also manifestations of excessive and incomprehensible wage differentials. Both tendencies run counter to ideopolitical orientations of the League of Communists and communists must start a vigorous action against these tendencies and work for income which depends on results of work alone.

The number of unemployed in Macedonia is constantly growing reaching the figure of 130,000 at the end of the last year, of whom approximately 60,000 people have vocational qualifications. Unfortunately, current estimates indicate that during the ensuing period this problem will continue to deteriorate with the result that by 1985 the number of unemployed with some kind of skill to their credit, it is thought, will grow to 107,000 people.

In housing policy the League of Communists must work to ensure that the resources of the banks and of associated labor for housing construction be channeled into the solution of the housing problem, especially of the workers who do not have accommodations, and into the building of cheap apartments in accordance with agreed housing standards, in which context conditions must be established in which workers themselves will decide directly about housing questions, which will avoid manifestations of usurpation of their rights. Drakulevski also expressed doubts concerning the incentives for the construction of privately owned accommodations with resources obtained from basic organizations of associated labor in the form of a loan on very favorable conditions, and from banks too, without the rate of inflation being taken into account. The question is posed whether it will be possible to continue using social resources to build apartments for the market and for unknown buyers.

The LC has often discussed social policy problems, Tome Drakulevski said at the end of his report. He stressed that great efforts are being made within the context of available material possibilities to implement as successfully as possible the League of Communists policy in this sphere as established at the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia and at the 11th LCY Congress. In view of the fact that our development is very dynamic, the League of Communists will have to monitor constantly ideological developments in social policy and in practice to check and build the most acceptable solutions for a successful conduct of social policy. The session continued with discussion in which several Central Committee members took part.